DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 391 733 SO 025 840

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TITLE The Unbroken Thread: Maori Learning and the National Qualifications Framework.
INSTITUTION New Zealand Council for Educational Research, Wellington.
REPORT NO ISBN-0-908916-78-7
PUB DATE 95
NOTE 63p.
AVAILABLE FROM New Zealand Council for Educational Research, P.O. Box 3237, Wellington, New Zealand.
PUB TYPE Information Analyses (070)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC03 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Comparative Education; *Cross Cultural Studies; *Educational Change; Educational Environment; Elementary Secondary Education; Foreign Countries; Foreign Culture; Global Education; *International Education
IDENTIFIERS *Maori (People); National Qualifications Framework (New Zealand); New Zealand

ABSTRACT

This report was commissioned to present a coherent set of relevant level descriptions, organized in a coherent range, and based on Maori learning and teaching principles. There are five chapters in this book. Chapter 1, "Traditional Concepts of Higher Education" (Richard Benton; Tipene Chrisp), provides a highly condensed form of the review of published texts about traditional Maori educational theory and practice. Chapter 2, "Contemporary Maori Principles of Learning and Teaching" (Nena Benton), discusses modern Maori principles of learning and teaching. Chapter 3, "Level Descriptors for Units for Maori National Qualifications" (Richard Benton; James Swindells), relates material from earlier chapters to the technical question of descriptors for the assigning of Maori units to levels within the National Framework and suggests three criteria to be added to the sets of descriptors at each level for Maori units within the Framework with modifications to the other descriptors. Chapter 4, "Descriptors for Maori National Qualifications," suggests possible structures, with corresponding descriptors, for Maori qualifications within the National Framework. Chapter 5, "Conclusions," dwells on the theme of interconnectedness. Two appendixes contain terms relating to traditional Maori higher education and accreditation guidelines. Contains an index of terms and 60 references. (EH)

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THE UNBROKEN THREAD

Maori Learning and the National Qualifications Framework

Richard and Nena Benton
in association with
James Swindells and Tipene Chrisp
Te Wāhanga Kaupapa Māori

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Richard and Nena Benton

in association with

James Swindells and Tipene Chrisp

Te Wāhanga Kaupapa Māori

New Zealand Council for Educational Research

Wellington

1995

New Zealand Council for Educational Research
P O Box 3237
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ISBN 0-908916-78-7

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New Zealand

PREFACE

This report was first commissioned by Te Pou of NZQA from Te Wāhanga Kaupapa Māori of NZCER, to assist the Qualifications Authority in integrating Maori qualifications with the National Qualifications Framework.

During the course of the research we undertook to enable us to complete this task, we consulted a large number of people involved in various aspects of learning and teaching in Maori contexts. Some were very uneasy about the implications of the Framework, while others were most enthusiastic. A similar range of reactions was encountered to the original version of this report, presented to NZQA in June 1993. This revised version does not differ materially from the original. The recommendations have not been changed, but as NZQA has changed the form and content of its basic levels descriptors for non-Maori qualifications since this report was presented, most of the detail in chapters 3 and 4 is retained for the record rather than as the suggested plan of action originally intended. The principles underlying these details, however, should, we hope, prove to be more durable.

In order to protect the confidentiality of many of the comments made to us by those who co-operated in this project, we would like simply to acknowledge the assistance we have received from members of the Maori community who have given us the benefit of their ideas and wisdom, without naming anyone specifically. Na reira e hoa mā, he mihi aroha tēnei na mā tou ki a koutou mo nga kōrero, nga ariā, te wānanga hoki na koutou i tuku mai ki a mātou i ā mātou e rangahau ana i ēnei kaupapa. We would, however, like to acknowledge the interest which the outside members of our advisory committee have taken in the project, individually and collectively, and we look forward to resuming our discussions with them on the issues raised in the report. They are Monte Ohia (NZQA), Trevor Moeke (NZQA), Turoa Royal (Whitireia Polytechnic), and Piripi Walker (Te Wānanga o Raukawa). We are also very grateful to Robyn Bargh of Huia Publishers, who has edited the revised manuscript for publication. None of these people, of course, has any responsibility for the contents of this report.

The principal researchers for the project have been Nena Benton and Richard Benton, assisted by James Swindells, Tipene Chrisp, and Maia Wilcox. Tipene completed a very extensive search of Maori and ethnographic accounts of the organisation and conduct of traditional Maori higher education before leaving Te Wāhanga Kaupapa Māori to take up a position with the Maori Language Commission towards the end of 1992; Maia left us shortly afterwards to take up a teaching position in a Maori immersion unit. This left James, who played a major role in assembling material on matters related to NZQA's policies, the place of Maori qualifications within the Framework, and related matters. The authorship of some chapters in this report is attributed to the people who were mainly responsible for writing them. The rest of the report is a collective effort.

Richard Benton, Co-ordinator

INTRODUCTION

Ka mā Rua
Ka mā Rua ki te hihiri
Ka mā Rua ki te rarama
Ka mā taku hau tū
Ka mā taku hau kōrero
Ka mā taku hau i taea e te ata hāpara

Pou hirihiri, pou rarama
Tiaho i roto, mārama i roto
Wānanga i roto, mārama i roto
Tēnā te pou, te pou ka eke
Te pou kai a koe nā
Ko te pou o ēnei kōrero

This report was commissioned to present a coherent set of relevant level descriptions, organised in a coherent range, and based on Maori learning and teaching principles. These descriptions would be suitable for use across the range of general and vocational units for courses taught in Maori and/or employing Maori teaching and learning principles. The descriptors were to be used to assign Maori units and qualifications to levels in the National Qualifications Framework. Maori principles of learning were also to be specified in the final report.

We considered that before making any recommendations about levels descriptors for Maori units and qualifications in relation to the Framework, we should find out as much as possible about the structures which may have existed in Maori higher education before the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. Since at least some of the qualifications which would be covered by our proposed descriptors arise from traditional sources, a clear understanding of traditional Maori concepts and practices is a prerequisite for establishing a firm basis for relating Maori learning to the National Qualifications Framework.

Accordingly we asked Tipene Chrisp to undertake an exhaustive review of published texts which contained information about traditional Maori educational theory and practice. We were able to check all references to education-related terms in Williams's *Dictionary of the Maori Language*, and many of the published materials contained first-hand accounts from nineteenth century Maori experts. This material is presented, in highly condensed form, in chapter 1, and the terms encountered are listed alphabetically in an annotated glossary as appendix 1.

Modern Maori principles of learning and teaching are discussed in chapter 2. The material from chapters 1 and 2 is related to the technical question of descriptors for the assigning of Maori units to levels within the National Framework in chapter 3. We did not attempt to justify the Framework or the idea of levels for qualifications and their component units and unit standards. The Wagner and Sass report (1992) covered most of the general background and rehearsed the arguments for and against levels and the use of descriptors. We accepted both the levels and the Framework as givens, and thus did not repeat the material already covered by the Wagner and Sass report here. In chapter 3, we suggest three criteria to be added to the sets of descriptors at each level for Maori units within the Framework, and also modifications to the other descriptors (based on the NZQA's 1992-93 adaptation

of those suggested in the Wagner and Sass report), to form a complete set of descriptors for assigning Maori units to levels.

In chapter 4, we suggest possible structures, with corresponding descriptors, for Maori qualifications within the National Framework. While the plan is still evolving, the underlying principles relate to the problem of establishing qualifications which can be recognised by Maori as their own within a national system. We discuss explicitly in this chapter some of these general issues related to Maori qualifications, including the question of the legitimacy of using the term "Maori" itself in this connection. Issues relating to course approval and the accreditation of course providers are also raised here, as they are closely related to the integrity of Maori qualifications. Possible conflicts between traditional and modern concepts of what validates a qualification are also discussed. We suggest that it may be necessary to make room for an iwi-based qualifications system outside the National Framework, with claims for public funding based on the intent of article 2 of the Treaty, rather than article 3 which covers Maori access to the national education system. In chapters 2 and 4 the need for a well-organised and easily accessible procedure for the recognition of prior learning is also outlined. The brief final chapter gathers together the main recommendations made in chapters 1 to 4.

The two *karakia* (ritual formulae) at the beginning of this introduction are from material supplied to Elsdon Best by Tutaka of Tuhoe; they are the karakia to begin the learning session and to clear the mind to make it receptive to new knowledge. Chapter 5 concludes with Tutaka's karakia to fix knowledge so it can be recalled and used appropriately when needed. We hope this is an appropriate beginning and ending for this report; our research has made the importance of beginnings, processes of development, and integrative conclusions clearly apparent to us.

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CHAPTER 1

TRADITIONAL CONCEPTS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

Professional and vocational education in pre-contact Aotearoa appears to have been organised in a variety of ways dependent on the physical, mental, and spiritual complexity of the subject-matter. A number of everyday tasks and roles were probably learned informally through observation and imitation. However, any activity of importance, from the practice of agriculture to the transmission of higher mythology, seems to have involved formal instruction and a systematic curriculum, with accepted assessment procedures for graduation from the more advanced courses. For practical activities, such as fishing, fowling, agriculture, carving, and weaving, there seems to have been a mixture of on-the-job training and formal learning, that is, an apprenticeship approach, with the formal component receiving more emphasis as mastery of the more mundane aspects of the art or craft was gained and the symbolic aspects were studied. At the level of the whare wānanga, however, instruction was exclusively by lectures and recitations, with the student required to memorise exactly the knowledge being transmitted.

While the more elementary forms of technical education may have been accessible to anyone who wanted to learn, access to professional education (that is, knowledge of ancient history, religious practice, and higher mythology) was confined to members of the rangatira lineages; advanced technical training however was much more freely accessible. There was considerable unease about the prospect of allowing the ordinary citizen to take on the decision-making roles for which higher academic education was a preparation. Reweti Kohere, in his commentary on the proverb "Kaua te wareware e tū ki te marae [Let not a plebeian stand on the marae]", quotes Te Matorohanga's explanation of why excessive democratisation in these areas of activity was undesirable:

- in a crisis a low-born person is likely to be treacherous;
- in speaking he is likely to say the wrong thing;
- in a crisis, whether it be for weal or woe, it should be the rangatira who should commit the people to whatever course should be followed;
- it may be asked of the low-born, "Who is he?" (Kohere, 1951, p.20)

There were thus obviously social levels within the traditional framework. However, there were also conceptual levels, both in the classification of knowledge and in the ranking of students. Important procedural considerations were also interwoven into educational practice. The traditional concepts, as reported in published sources, are discussed in this chapter of the report under these headings:

- Classes of knowledge or educational activity
- Curricula and institutions teaching them
- Grades and titles of students and/or teachers
- Karakia and ceremonies
- Assessment procedures and requirements
- Certification
- Pedagogy and modes of learning

The terms for these concepts which were encountered in the course of our search of the literature are also collected together and arranged alphabetically in an annotated glossary in appendix 1.

Classes of Knowledge or Educational Activity

The traditional concept of education seems to have been bound up with the term *ako* "learn, teach, instruct, advise" (cf. Grey, 1971, pp.19,30,48; Williams, 1985, p.7). The term *mātauranga* indicated knowledge and understanding, but does not seem to have been used as an equivalent of the English word "education" in traditional contexts. Williams (1985) gives as meanings of mātau: "know, be acquainted with; understand; feel certain of". The modern use of mātauranga (as a term for "education") seems to be a recent extension of these meanings (cf. Tikao, in Beattie, 1990, p.67; Williams, 1985, p.191). Indeed, there was an interesting article published in the Maori newspaper *The Wairarapa Matuhi Press* in 1904, in which the author noted the differences between the modern, European-based concept of *etikeihana* ("te mohiotanga o te iwi Pakeha i kitea ai nga mea whakamiharo o te ao") and the Maori view of what constituted mātauranga; the latter was more concerned with fundamentals, philosophical and spiritual rather than technical knowledge (Patete, 1904). For higher learning, the key generic term is *wānanga*. Williams defines this as "Lore of the tohunga, occult arts". It is clear from the use of the term in the institutional context (*whare wānanga*, q.v.), however, that wānanga covered higher learning and advanced theoretical knowledge generally (Williams, 1985, p.479; cf. Best, 1986, Smith, 1913).

Knowledge of all kinds consisted of two underlying components, "terrestrial" knowledge (that is, history, legends, worldly matters), symbolised by *te kauwae raro* (the lower jaw), and "celestial" knowledge (that is, higher mythology, karakia, religious matters, etc.), symbolised by *te kauwae runga* (the upper jaw) (*see* Best, 1986, p.12; McLean, 1981, p.19; Williams, 1985, p.105). The need to take cognisance of both these aspects of knowledge even in contexts where one or the other is apparently of primary concern is probably still one of the distinguishing marks of a Maori approach to learning and teaching. Wānanga as such (also known as *kura* - cf. Williams, 1985, p.157), was most closely tied to the kauwae runga component, much of which was *kura huna*, "concealed", that is, specially important and thus well-guarded knowledge imparted in the whare wānanga.

In terms of discipline or subject orientation, knowledge seems to have been organised into various *kete* or curriculum areas. The highest-order division of the world of learning was within the three kete brought from the heavens by Tāne:

- *te kete aronui*, containing religious, ceremonial and other advanced knowledge relevant to the enlightenment of man, and to the preservation of his physical, spiritual, and mental welfare (cf. Andersen, 1928, pp.346-7; Best, 1986, p.11; McLean, 1981 p.14);

- *te kete tuauri*, representing knowledge of benign ritual and the history and practices of human lineages (cf. Andersen, 1928, p.346; Best, 1986, p.11; McLean, 1981, p.14); and
- *te kete tuatea*, which was the repository of evil knowledge (in some versions, this kete comprised knowledge of karakia generally, whether malign or benign in intent or effect; cf. Andersen, 1928, p.346; Best, 1986, p.11; McLean, 1981, p.14).

The areas of knowledge symbolised by these kete corresponded fairly closely to the curricula of the whare wānanga, the technical schools, and the school for *tohunga makutu* (practitioners of the black arts) respectively. These are discussed in relation to curriculum, below. There were also other named kete, dealing with subsets of these higher-level classes of knowledge. Several of these are described as being stitched with a particular mystical "thread", that is, it was important that knowledge of these areas be obtained holistically, not as unrelated bits of data or information. These subsets included the kete *uruuru-matua*, comprising peace, all goodness, and love (Smith, 1913, pp.28,130), associated with the ritual kete *whānui*, secured with the thread "Tuhi-o-rongotau" (Smith, 1913, p.62); the kete *uruuru-rangi*, alsoknown as *uruuru-tipua*, comprising all karakia pertaining to people, associated with the ritual kete *wāhi rangi*, secured with the thread "pipiwai"; and the kete *uruuru-tau* or *uruuru-tawhito*, comprising wars of mankind, agriculture, and all other occupations and things that tend to wellbeing and life, associated with the ritual kete *ruruku-o-te-rangi* and secured with the thread "whiwhi-o-te-rangi".

Curricula and Institutions Teaching Them

It seems quite clear from the evidence of nineteenth century sources (both Maori and ethnographic) that the whare wānanga (under one of its various local names) devoted to the transmission of cosmology and other esoteric knowledge was the premier formal educational institution. It functioned both as a high school and a university. The "high school" phase was that concerned with transmitting the basic information about mythology, ritual, genealogy, and related matters to a highly select group of male adolescent students (often exclusively from ariki lines, and always from the rangatira class). Graduates from this stage might join the ranks of tohunga, and enter into the higher or university stages of learning, which included the Ngai Tahu *kura tātai* or school of astronomy, paralleled elsewhere by institutions such as the *Pūtahi ki a Rehua* or "sacred session of Rehua", characterised by Ngata as "one of the most important assemblies of high priests in the house of learning" (Ngata and Jones, 1961, p.229).

Two points need to be made at the outset. Firstly, although many of these institutions contain the word *whare* in their title, they were not necessarily housed permanently in a particular building. In some districts there may have been permanent whare wānanga (according to White's Ngai Tahu informants (1887), this was the case in the South Island), but Best (1925) thinks that this often probably was not the case among the Mataatua tribes, for example. The term "whare" thus refers to an institution and its activities, irrespective of its physical setting. Secondly, the names for these institutions vary greatly from district to district, with the same terms often being used for quite different institutions among various iwi. Thus the highest school of learning was called whare wānanga in Taranaki, *whare kura* by Ngai Tahu (with the latter term applied to the second-level institution in Taranaki), *whare maire* by Tuhoe (a term used elsewhere for the school of black arts, which were excluded from the whare maire by Tuhoe), and *whare takiura*, also by Tuhoe.

Despite the terminological confusion and differences in organisational detail, however, the pattern of higher education seems to have been very similar in all districts. There was an intellectually and socially elite academic institution, and below it a number of general and vocationally orientated institutions of advanced learning. These included an institution where the less esoteric aspects of local history and tradition were taught, called whare kura in Taranaki (as noted above), and *whare kaupo* in Hawke's Bay and Wairarapa. Below this, in terms of academic and social prestige, was the institution in which tohunga makutu were trained. These institutions seem not to have flourished where strong whare wānanga existed.

There were also institutions for instruction in the arts, crafts, and various economic pursuits. In many areas, these were open to everyone irrespective of social class, and involved both formal instruction and the imparting of practical help and advice on request. In the case of activities such as weaving and carving, and probably also the martial arts, it seems that the prestige associated with the completion of advanced courses in these technical institutions would have been on a level comparable to that of the whare kaupo.

The Ngai Tahu whare kura, as described in White (1887), included a section devoted to knowledge related to agriculture and other economic pursuits. Some learners undertook formal courses in this institution, but many simply came at appointed times to consult the appropriate tohunga about matters related to their craft, trade, or activity as the need arose. In other areas, significant learning institutions devoted to matters connected mainly to te kauwae raro included *te para whakawai* or *whare pū-rākau*, the school of arms, the *whare pora* or *whare takutaku*, the school of weaving, and the *whare mata* or *whare takaha*, which functioned both as a school for instruction in matters related to bird-snaring and fishing, and a storage place for equipment made for use in these pursuits. Among the Ngai Tahu, Tikao (in Beattie, 1990) reports that the term whare mata was used for a building where the tohunga taught the cutting of greenstone.

Within the whare wānanga itself, students were able to choose areas of knowledge from the appropriate kete to study at a particular time. These studies might take place in a variety of locations. Some may also have been given institutional names; Williams, for example, records the term *whare pupuke* under the entry for *pupuke* "repeat incantations" as a synonym for whare wānanga, unfortunately without a reference to the source. It is possible that this was a name for a field of study within the curriculum of the larger institution. The term *whare pōrukuruku* was also used, in the Mataatua area at least, to denote solitary teaching "as when a man teaches his son or grandson the tribal lore". The possible significance of the use of this term will be discussed in the section on pedagogy.

Best's *The Whare Kowhanga and Its Lore* (1975) includes the text of a manuscript by Hori Ropiha which carefully describes five *rākau* covering the curriculum in the practical arts within te kete tuauri. He uses the term rākau to indicate a curriculum area, each of which is made up of a number of stages building on the knowledge gained in the preceding one. Although each rākau is self-contained, the rākau themselves appear to be linked to each other in a systematic progression. Thus the student progresses through six stages of a course in weaponry and weapon-making and the use and manufacture of hunting equipment, to a five-stage course in agriculture (again, involving both the manufacture and use of the necessary implements), and thence to a course on building and carving with twenty-two stages (ranging from the construction of simple shelters and fences to full-scale carved houses and the palisades for a pa). These were the "land-related rākau". After this, there was an even more complex course (thirty stages) in canoe building, starting with adzing out a simple dugout canoe and ending with the construction of large ocean-going canoes. After that, the final course consisted of seventeen stages of instruction in fishing, including the manufacture and use of hooks for various kinds of fish. Significantly, the institution teaching these things is referred to as a kind of whare wānanga,

indicating that, as with the Ngai Tahu use of the term whare kura in similar contexts, advanced technical knowledge was highly esteemed.

This high regard for expertise in the applied arts is also implicit in the association of Rua-te-pupuke, Rua-te-mahara, and Rua-te-hotahota with such activities. For example, in the Oriori mo Tā-Maunga-o-te-Rangi (Ngata & Jones, 1970, pp. 28-41), the following lines occur:

> Taku kore rawa nei ki te rau kiekie,
> Taku noho tonu nei ki te rau harakeke.
> Tēnā anō rā tō tāua kahu,
> Nā tō matua rā nāna i waihanga,
> Nā Rua-te-pupuke, nā Rua-te-Mahara,
> Na Rua-te-hotahota, nā Tua-waihanga;
> He kahu rā mō tāua ki te pō.
>
> (I am bereft of the kiekie leaf,
> I must put up with the flax leaf.
> But there is indeed our cloak
> Which was made by your parent
> Recess-of-Knowledge, Recess-of-Thought
> Recess-of- Enterprise, Prodigy-of-Learning
> A garment for both of us in the night.)

Ngata comments that the three Rua are children of Tangaroa, and "were demi-gods of knowledge, thought and of deepest thought". Furthermore, they are "associated with handicrafts, carving and the weaving of cloaks"; the first whare wānanga is also said to have been constructed by Rua-te-pupuke.

The entries in the glossary in appendix 1 contain more detailed information about the various institutions mentioned in this chapter, and comments on the interrelationships and possible origins of many of the terms involved.

Grades and Titles of Students and Teachers

Within both the whare wānanga and the technical institutions, there appears to have been a four-stage progression for students. Neophytes in the whare wānanga were called *pia*, and passed by a series of examinations through the successive stages of *tāura* and *tauira* to full graduation (Best, 1986, p.15). The tauira stage itself was a significant one; the term was applied generally to all serious scholars. Ropiha, in his treatise on the applied arts taught in the whare wānanga (in Best, 1975), gives *tamariki*, *tamaroa*, and *tama ariki* as the equivalents for pia, tāura, and tauira respectively. Beyond this, various terms were used for advanced students or new graduates. McLean (1981, p.17) reports that *tauira pū kōrero* was used to designate a student "more qualified" than an ordinary tauira. Williams (1985, p.398) records *tauira horomata* as a term for a student "at one stage of tuition" by a tohunga but gives no further details or references. It seems that the word tama may have been used to describe the newly graduated tauira; the word is often encountered in chants which list grades of knowledge, like this one recorded in Grey's *Nga Mahi a Nga Tupuna* (1971, p.74):

> Te pō nui,
> Te pō roa,
> Te pō matire rau, ā ēnei ngā tohunga;

Koi te matire rau,
Koi te matire rau ā ēnei ngā atua,
Koi te matire rau ā ēnei tama,
Koi te matire rau ā ēnei tauira.

After passing this stage, a person would be accorded the status of tohunga. This was a prestigious term, which was applied to anyone with acknowledged expertise, irrespective of the field or of the social standing of the subject-matter involved. Within the upper levels of the whare wānanga, there appear to have been a series of academic ranks. Some of these were ascribed (ariki, for example, were normally tohunga as well as political and military leaders, and were accorded the highest rank ex officio), but most were gained as a result of proven ability, experience, and competence. Among the names recorded were *ahorangi* for the chief expert in the whare wānanga (also applied to persons of exceptional learning), *whatu* for the chief expert of any learning institution, paralleled by *uenuku*, *taumata ahurewa*, and *taumata atua* for the priestly high chiefs. Beneath these were *tohunga ahurewa*, *horomatua*, and other experts. Two other important priestly titles, *amorangi* and *amokapua*, seem to have been associated more directly with leadership roles and with the application of knowledge than with the whare wānanga itself. There were also lay assistants, *takuahi*, who acted as teacher aides.

Various terms incorporating the stem *pū*, in the sense of "skilled person, wise one" (Williams, 1985, p.300) were used to designate scholarly and technical experts generally, for example, *pūkōrero*, *pūkenga*, and *pū wānanga*, as well as wānanga itself, *pūtea rauaroha*, and *ruānuku* (an expert in mākutu was known as a *tohunga ruānuku* in some districts). Within the whare wānanga, a tohunga who questioned or prompted the learners while another lectured or chanted was termed the *kaituruki*. (Further information about all these terms will be found in appendix 1.)

Karakia and Ceremonies

The performance of the appropriate ceremonies and the chanting of karakia at what were perceived to be critical stages of the learning process were extremely important activities procedurally. Nothing would have long-term worth without them. There were special karakia in preparation for a learning session, to prepare the learner's mind to receive knowledge, and at the conclusion to enable the knowledge to be retained. This report begins and ends with Tutaka's examples of such karakia used for pupils studying tradition, weaving, or carving, as recorded by Elsdon Best in his book *Tuhoe: The Children of the Mist* (1925, pp.1097-8). Best mentions generic names for two of these karakia in his paper on the Whare Pora (1898), *moremore puwha*, used both in the initiation of students in weaving and carving, and over warriors preparing for battle, to make the mind alert and receptive, and *pou*, also used with warriors as well as weavers and carvers, to fix knowledge and enable it to be recalled instantly when needed. Williams (1985, p.298) records the term *pouhihiri* with a similar meaning.

Various ceremonies concerned with the initiation and graduation of students are described by Best (1986), Smith (1913), Tikao (in Beattie, 1990), White (1887), and others. The details are unimportant. However the general principle, that in order for learning to be effective, a certain tikanga or procedure must be followed, to prepare the learner mentally, physically, and spiritually, and to ensure that the parts constitute a whole, is extremely important, and continues to inform Maori attitudes and practices in relation to the acquisition and dissemination of knowledge.

Assessment Procedures and Requirements

Assessment basically took two forms. At various stages in a formal course, and virtually continuously in one which consisted of learning while doing, students would be tested on the mastery of the subject-matter which had been presented to them. In the whare wānanga this consisted of accurate recall and later the ability to relate the details of chants and texts of various kinds. In order to graduate, they would also be expected to demonstrate their mastery of any occult powers which they were expected to possess. Weavers, fowlers, and carvers would also have some knowledge of this kind (often a considerable body of it), and their practical skills would also be tested. For graduation, this would probably involve not just the production of a masterpiece, but its performance under conditions which would test stamina, alertness, and concentration, as well as technical skill. The demonstration of acquired knowledge in a test of proficiency was termed *wānanga* or *whakangawhātanga*. The first fight a young warrior engaged in was termed *tauiratanga*, and there are a large number of terms connected with various practical tests of skill undergone by warriors in training (some of these are included in appendix 1).

The other kind of test was symbolic. For example, Mitchell (1972, pp.50-51) mentions six tests for graduation. The first of these, which was the essential one, was purely symbolic: the candidate had to hurl a stone at a shrine. If the stone remained intact, the student passed. If it shattered, he had to return to the whare wānanga for another session. The other tests, which seem to have been optional, were of an applied nature (although few modern graduates of technical or academic institutes would regard them as fair - they included shattering a stone by means of a karakia, killing a flying bird by similar means, and controlling a storm). The symbolic test is the most interesting one, however, as it again signifies the importance of the correct relationship between the components of knowledge. The shattered stone can be interpreted as a sign that the learning claimed had not been correctly integrated. Until it had attained a unity, it would not be reliable or valid.

Certification

Before the introduction of writing, graduation from the highest levels of the whare wānanga was marked in many (if not all) districts by the presentation of a special stone (or set of stones) to the successful candidate. These stones were given personal names, and were thus taonga of a special kind. While some, like the *whatu kairangi* or *whatu tāmaua take*, symbolised the superior knowledge itself, others apparently had supplementary powers, for example, the *whatu kai manawa*, *whatu puororangi*, and *whatu whakatara* presented to students in the Whanganui area (*see* appendix 1 for details). The important thing to note is that a physical representation of the knowledge gained by an individual in an institutional setting has its counterpart in traditional Maori educational practice.

Pedagogy and Modes of Learning

The chapter of this report dealing with contemporary Maori modes of learning and teaching contains much information linking past and present. It is sufficient therefore to note here a few of the main features of traditional Maori learning which have not already been touched on. Joan Metge's (1984) three-fold classification of approaches to learning seems to be well supported by older accounts of traditional ways of imparting and acquiring knowledge. These approaches (frequently interlinked with each other) are:

(A) Apparently self-motivated experiential learning (often subtly guided by senior members of the whanau). This took three main forms:

- learning by absorption, that is, just being around when certain tasks are being performed or topics are being discussed;
- learning by conscious observation;
- learning by direct participation.

(B) Apprenticeship. This involved specialised practical instruction by an expert, and sequences of progression specific to each type of activity. An element of self-selection was probably often involved; craftspeople would select young people who seemed to have both the aptitude and the interest necessary for the occupation or activity concerned.

(C) Selection by ascription and examination. This applied at the whare wānanga level, where in normal circumstances, only males of the rangatira or ariki class could gain entry, and to retain their place would have to prove their worthiness by being able to memorise whakapapa, karakia, and so on, often after a single exposure to the text in question; in the case of the whare maire, a practical demonstration of the ability to cause death through makutu was essential for graduation.

In the practical arts, a series of stages seems to characterise the way instruction was organised and expertise gained. As noted above in connection with the traditional curriculum, Ropiha described thirty levels or stages for boat building, in contrast to five for gardening. These stages correspond quite closely to "units of instruction" or modules, with an increase in the complexity of the tasks as the later stages of the sequence are reached. Within the whare wānanga, the later stages were probably characterised not only by the complexity of the material being learned, but also by its esoteric and secret nature.

There is also considerable indirect evidence that learning was a collective activity in several ways, even though the individual was supposed to master the art or subject-matter being studied. Among all iwi there seem to have been definite institutions in which groups of students acquired knowledge under the direction of at least one, and usually several teachers. Not only did the experts in the whare wānanga have the assistance of lay aides, and also assist each other in testing and prompting the pupils; members of the student's family also had a role to play, whether by providing food, or making sure that younger students remained both alert and attentive (White notes that in the Ngai Tahu whare kura young students were accompanied by their fathers who performed this monitoring role). Although teachers and students of the most sacred knowledge were men, no sessions took place without the presence of at least one high-ranking older woman, whose function it was to protect the mauri of all the participants. These cosmic surge protectors must also have become wānanga in their own right.

Furthermore, there is the interesting use of the term whare pōrukuruku for "a solitary teaching, as when a man teaches his son or grandson the tribal lore" (Best, 1986, p.9). The ordinary meanings of pōrukuruku are, according to Williams (1985, p.295) "lumpy, full of lumps; threatening, lowering (of the sky); rude cover of bark or thatch such as that sometimes put over a corpse deposited among the branches of a tree". All of these concepts probably have some bearing on the educational use of the term (it also covered the study of mākutu in some areas). There is danger in transmitting knowledge in an antisocial environment, danger to the learner (if the knowledge is imbued with too much tapu, the burden placed on a single individual taught in isolation may be too great), danger to the iwi, in that the

concentration of important learning in a single mind may render it inaccessible or lost when it is most needed, and also danger to the knowledge itself - true breadth of knowledge is gained through absorbing the combined wisdom of several master teachers, as in the regular sessions of the whare wānanga. All these considerations make the term pōrukuruku seem eminently suitable for knowledge gained in isolation from the community and the holders of its collective wisdom.

Summary

Two major kinds of levels can be distinguished in the traditional accounts: inter-institutional levels (that is, a hierarchy of learning institutions), and intra-institutional levels (that is, grades or levels of learning within a single institution). There were also levels of achievement specific to various fields or subjects.

It is clear from the literature that each major iwi or confederation had its own system for organising education and classifying both institutions and achievement. Nevertheless, a number of general patterns emerge. In most areas, for example, there was a three-tier system of academic-type educational institutions, although the names given to these varied, and there were obviously sub-levels within these levels in some places:

- te whare wānanga;
- te whare kaupo;
- te whare maire.

(This list alone has the potential to generate confusion, because the "whare maire" of Tuhoe is the same as the "whare wānanga" in other areas, and thus not the third-level "whare maire".) Probably because it was by far the most prestigious institution, there is more information about whare wānanga than about the others. The whare wānanga was concerned with the transmission of cosmology, mythology, and sacred knowledge at the highest level. (Among the Tuhoe, a parallel institution, the whare takiura, existed solely for the benefit of the first-born sons of the ariki class, and transmitted knowledge intended exclusively for the most senior members of the ariki lines.)

The whare kaupo (whare kura in Taranaki) was the second-grade house of learning (or series of lectures). Its subject-matter was much more "secular" in content: post-migration tradition of a general nature, traditions specific to the iwi concerned, historical matters such as the wars and other exploits in which the iwi had been involved, and so on (cf. Best, 1986, p.13).

The last of these institutions, the whare maire (in the non-Tuhoe sense) was devoted to makutu, and was the least prestigious of the houses of higher learning. Most technical and practical skills of a more mundane kind were taught outside these academies, by one or another form of apprenticeship (for socially important crafts and activities, this would also involve formal learning in an institutional setting, such as the whare pora for weaving), or through participant observation.

Within the institutions of higher learning four major levels of academic status are identified for Ngati Porou and Ngati Kahungunu (we have no explicit information for other iwi). A parallel four-tiered system seems also to have held in relation to technical training (cf. Ropiha, 1975):

- pia/tamariki (neophytes -"freshmen");
- tāura/tamaroa (advanced undergraduates);
- tauira/tama ariki ("honours students"; also called akoako);
- tohunga (graduates empowered to teach others).

Tauira is also used as a general term for a serious student of tradition, that is, a tohunga in training. The terms pūkōrero and pūwānanga are also used for experts beyond the tauira grade, but their relationship to tohunga is not clear. The term "tama" is also used in many chants, perhaps as a term for a newly initiated tohunga. Tohunga within the whare wānanga also seem to have had a system of academic ranks, based on experience and knowledge.

There were also technical institutions, such as the whare pora (for weaving) and the whare mata (for fowling and fishing). These provided advanced apprenticeship and also taught traditions and religio-cultural practices connected with these crafts and occupations. The technical experts were also called tohunga, and at the upper levels the education received in these matters was probably regarded in much the same way as that received in the whare kaupo; that is, highly valued and a source of considerable mana and responsibility. The esoteric knowledge gained through the upper levels of the whare wānanga was clearly the most prestigious, however (and also available only to the most gifted members of the social elite).

Although the whare wānanga was clearly an institution of higher learning, entry to it could be gained at a relatively young age - between 12 and 16, according to various sources. Instruction in the arts, crafts, and practical skills appears to have commenced about the age of 12. In the whare wānanga, Kahungunu sources mention a term of 3 to 5 months (in the winter), with the course extending over 5 years.

Finally, three points should be noted, as they remain relevant to any contemporary discussion of what constitutes a Maori qualification. Firstly, group learning and co-operative teaching seem to have been normal and desirable, although students were selected for their individual aptitudes, and assessed individually. Secondly, learning clearly could not take place effectively unless certain procedures were followed. These included the use of karakia to prepare the way psychologically and spiritually before instruction began, and to end a learning session appropriately. Thirdly, the preservation of coherence within the curriculum was important. Although learners could choose which element from the kete they wished to study, the thread securing the kete might not be broken. Thus, in a wider sense, it seems clear that procedure, setting, and personnel all had to be in harmony. By keeping the ultimate end of the process in sight, fragmentation was avoided in the organisation, imparting, and acquisition of knowledge and skills.

CHAPTER 2

CONTEMPORARY MAORI PRINCIPLES OF LEARNING AND TEACHING

How does Maori learning now reflect the traditions of the past and extend them into the future? And how can Maori cultural concerns and educational needs and preferences be related to the National Qualifications Framework? This chapter explores both these questions, beginning with a cautionary note: fundamentally, the quest is to discern commonalities among the world views and modes of action of a large number of groups of people, not a single homogeneous group. Even the most valid generalisation must admit of exceptions.

As Rangimarie Rose Pere (1982, p.1) has said:

> People who are classified as 'Maori' today are in fact made up of individuals who derive their identities and experiences from tribal and sub-tribal groups, urban groups, other cultures, etc. The diversities among peoples of West European origin are themselves significant in educational practice; how much greater must that diversity be for people whose origins were in a very different culture from Europe but whose recent history has been increasingly intertwined with it. In practical terms to ignore the diversity is largely an administrative convenience.

John Rangihau (1977, pp. 175-176) explained the importance of iwi in defining his identity:

> Although these feelings are Maori, for me they are Tuhoetanga rather than my Maoritanga. My being Maori is absolutely dependent on my history as a Tuhoe person as against being a Maori person. It seems to me there is no such thing as Maoritanga because Maoritanga is an all-inclusive term which embraces all Maoris. . . . Each tribe has its own history. . . . How can I share with the history of Ngati Porou, of Te Arawa, of Waikato? Because I am not of those people. I am aTuhoe person and all I can share in is Tuhoe history . . .
>
> I can't go round saying because I'm Maori that Maoritanga means this and all Maoris have to follow me. That's a lot of hooey. I have a faint suspicion that Maoritanga is a term coined by the Pakeha to bring the tribes together. Because if you cannot divide and rule, then for tribal people all you can do is unite them and rule. Because then they lose everything by losing their own tribal histories and traditions that give them their identity.

In the past each iwi had its own system for organising education and classifying both institutions and achievement. So in matters of traditional learning and tribal history, people were justifiably concerned

about iwi uniqueness. Even under the pressure of sustained culture contact and intermarriage between Maori and Pakeha and also between different Maori iwi, tribal diversity has not disappeared. We shall refrain therefore from making reference to *the* Maori way of learning and teaching. Nevertheless, at another level, a number of general patterns emerge that enable us to distinguish between Maori and Pakeha modes of learning and teaching (where "Pakeha", an even vaguer term than "Maori", means the norms of the English-derived culture of the dominant social group in New Zealand).

It is at this level that our exploration has been carried out. The focus is on those patterns or elements of a pattern that relate to contemporary thinking and practice in Maori education. A better understanding of these emerging patterns or elements, coupled with a deep sensitivity to persistent differences, should lead to a better appreciation of the issues that Maori people are trying to grapple with as they ponder the implications of having Maori qualifications incorporated into the National Framework. The issues are complex, so it makes no sense to pretend that there are simple answers.

Maori Strategies of Education

Joan Metge (1984,1987) has identified three "strategies of education" used by Maori, fully realising, of course, that they are not really mutually exclusive. These were mentioned in chapter 1, and may be summarised as follows:

Selection by ascription and examination: This strategy referred to the characteristic form of instruction in a whare wānanga which was formal, occasional, separated from everyday life, selective, and to a degree exclusive. It was originally applied in situations where the knowledge and skills to be gained were meant only for certain individuals. An example would be that world of knowledge in traditional Maori culture to which only the males of the rangatira or ariki class could gain entry; in order to retain their place, they would have had to prove their worthiness by being able to memorise whakapapa, karakia, and so on, often after a single exposure to the text in question.

Education through exposure: This strategy can take three forms:

- learning by absorption where the learner just had to be around to see what is being performed and to hear what is discussed;
- learning by conscious observation; and
- learning by direct participation.

Much of the learning is informal, semi-continuous, embedded in the ongoing life of the community. Prospective learners are put into situations where participation is required. The level and quality of the learning depend very much on the learners' attentiveness and precocity.

Apprenticeship or tutorial strategy: This strategy involves the deliberate assistance of experts who take a selected pupil under their wing and through constant contact and deliberate instruction pass their knowledge on to the learner (often a grandchild).

Maori have retained elements of all three strategies. However, many people today tend to identify the second strategy as *the* Maori way of learning (in contrast with "Pakeha regimentation") because, as Metge points out, it occurs in a wide range of contexts from daily living to hui. Indeed, many skills

and much of the knowledge that is needed to carry on with life from day to day, is gained through exposure: "caught, not taught" as people in the kohanga reo movement put it.

Learning by exposure works best in situations where there are good role models for learners to emulate. Where such models are hard to come by, the strategy is in danger of not producing the desired results and may put cultural continuity at risk. If the community cannot provide a critical mass of suitable role models, it will have to resort to other strategies, such as deliberate teaching and other means of intervention. Thus, for example, where the ability to work together as a group is seen to be an important learning objective, a deliberate effort must be made to create opportunities for groups of learners to actually engage in a series of group activities that would require them to improve their skills in co-operative learning.

The Changing Role of Whanau in Learning

In the 1940s, Hawthorn wrote on the attitudes that characterise interpersonal relations among family members in a small Northland community under acculturation; he noted "a mutually appreciative attitude" between Maori parents and children, in which social learning took place in an atmosphere "to a large extent free of anxieties about child performance". In Hawthorn's view:

> It seems possible that this mutually appreciative attitude of Maori parents and children is at the root of the smooth nature of Maori cultural change, which in comparison with the westernization of other peoples is remarkably free from the characteristic and destructive conflict between the generations. . . . This attitude of positive reciprocity between the generations is characteristically Polynesian, and the Maori are the outstanding modern Polynesian exponents of it. (Hawthorn, 1944, pp.39-40)

Other researchers, including Rose Pere (1983), have documented the persistence of what are, in the New Zealand context, distinctively Maori child-rearing patterns, based on kinship relations and the sharing of responsibilities between and within generations. As Rose Pere points out (1983, pp.1-2), these cultural practices are likely to be highly relevant to the ways Maori people learn:

> I slept, ate, played, worked and learnt alongside four generations, and was never excluded from anything my grandparents were involved with, including attending celebrations, tangihanga (ceremonial mourning), and many other gatherings. I learnt through observation and participation.

In the modern urban setting, that generational depth that Rose Pere talks about is less common. For education through exposure to work properly, there would have to be a critical mass of adult models for young learners to emulate. Urbanisation and other socioeconomic changes that New Zealand society has been subjected to, particularly in the last two decades, have certainly had an impact on the social base and the world view underpinning the kind of socialisation that might have been typical of many Maori communities even in the 1950s.

Nevertheless, it seems that the total isolation of the nuclear family, predicted by some theorists as a result of modernisation, has been evaded by many Maori families, even in urban settings. Kawharu's research (1975) in the Orakei community in the heart of Auckland, for example, revealed patterns of socialisation and informal education very similar to those noted in the studies of rural communities

mentioned above.

Indeed, some aspects of Maori culture, including some patterns of child-rearing, have proved very resilient. In their wisdom, and given a chance, Maori parents and grandparents will adapt some of the older elements or put them into new combinations. If we are to go by what is happening in many urban kohanga reo, the city does not always destroy what is there, but gives people an opportunity to experiment with new forms and new ways of teaching and learning.

Family and kin have thus remained an important source of support to individual Maori learners. Urbanisation and the socioeconomic changes, particularly those of the last 50 years or so, have had an impact on family and kinship relations. However, they are not nearly as destructive as they are sometimes made out to be because of the flexibility with which the social boundaries are drawn when assistance is sought. Where consanguineal kin are not nearby, affinal kin or even friends get drawn into the support group for the enculturation process or in coping with crisis situations. It is important to see how these boundaries move depending not only on the physical availability of certain people but also on their willingness to share the responsibility for a particular activity such as the transmission of certain knowledge and skills.

With the advent of the kohanga reo (in 1982), some other changes have occurred that will need to be studied systematically. In 1992-93, Te Wāhanga Kaupapa Māori of NZCER did research with ten kohanga reo in different parts of the country. Whanau development in each one of them had taken a slightly different turn. Social ties were being realigned and the source of support for learners, young and old, had been extended outside the kinship group.

The dictionary meaning of "whanau" is given as family group (Williams, 1982). However, the term "whanau" has been broadened in recent times, and the kohanga reo whanau may include members of the same traditionally defined whanau, but it is not limited to these individuals. The kohanga reo whanau is a group of people acting together for a common purpose over a long period of time, and developing the kinds of social bonds which enable them to operate like a traditional whanau despite the absence of a common ancestor.

The kohanga reo takes on the educative role of the traditional whanau to the extent that there is a sufficiently large number of adults to act as role models for the children. This will give children significant exposure to the Maori language with the cultural values associated with it, and, in the urban setting, let them also experience a degree of diversity in customary practices so that they could appreciate the differences that give each iwi its uniqueness. The ideal arrangement then, where whanau-based learning is to be fostered, is for the kohanga reo to have a group of adults with complementary roles, sharing their expertise and exemplifying in their relationships the cultural values that they consider important.

The kohanga reo whanau therefore has to try and achieve the right balance of unity of purpose and diversity. From the point of view of transmitting Maori language and culture, a team approach is a closer approximation of the traditional kin-based activity and has a better chance of carrying out the kaupapa of the movement without being overextended. When enough people are involved, there is less strain on individuals because the problems are also shared around. In many kohanga reo, this co-operative approach to learning and teaching extends to the further education of all members of the group, from mokopuna to kuia and kaumatua.

Stages of Learning

Any learning is more attainable when done in stages. For Maori a certain level of mastery is expected at each stage (Metge, 1983, p.15), and learners must demonstrate that they are adequately prepared for each stage before they can progress to the next. This is a lifelong process and some things can only be approached at the evening of life; all learning depends on readiness (cf. Pere, 1982, p.73).

Metge also notes, however, that "there are certain things that some people are never ready for" (loc.cit.) and that a certain degree of specialisation is expected. John Rangihau (1975, pp.165-6) explained the importance of specialisation as an integral part of group living in his own home community:

> The essence of community apprenticeship was young people learning by participating, by becoming carriers of wood, by chopping the wood and by setting the hangi. As you grew older you moved on to being in charge of the butchers, the hangi men and the people who gathered food. You went through all these processes. Then you were allowed to go and listen to elders speaking on the marae and in the meeting houses. So you progressed by observing and becoming involved in all the activities of the marae. That traditionally was the way a young man fitted into place as the elders died off.

The other side of specialisation is interdependence and mutual accountability. For example, a kohanga reo whanau that chooses to be trained and work as a team could share the different areas of expertise. One person could be a fluent speaker of Maori and good at teaching, while others could be responsible for the mokopuna's health or the overall management of the entire operation. This could mean that the mokopuna will have the benefit of an education arrangement in which they have the security provided by a group of people who feel accountable to them and to one another.

Provided the kohanga reo whanau members work together as a team, they should be able to implement the kaupapa of the national Kohanga Reo movement without undermining its holistic nature. Their complementary strengths reinforce the need to co-operate and be accountable to one another. They would thus have the opportunity to undertake further training while carrying on with the immediate tasks that need to be done. At the same time, individuals involved in such collective activity may be able eventually to achieve outstanding performance in all the different areas of expertise they are expected to have.

Interconnectedness: Learning and Life

In the Maori world, Metge (1987, p.4) observes, "education involves heart as well as head, emotion as well as intellect". Perhaps this is where the kohanga reo, kura kaupapa Maori, and other Maori-organised educational facilities in urban communities are of the greatest value, as places of refuge where people recharge their batteries and learn to live as caring members of a group again, participating in the sharing of their unique talents. If educational institutions are to be responsive to Maori, they must accommodate in some way Maori cultural values and identity. A National Qualifications Framework has to reflect this requirement.

One person we consulted in the course of this project pointed out that the holistic nature of Maori qualifications cannot be maintained unless iwi have a stake in protecting the quality of Maori learning and teaching. There are layers of meaning built into Maori knowledge and skills and these must be

peeled down carefully. Learners must be ready, not only in a technical sense but in every way that the iwi sees as being important, before they are allowed to progress from one stage to another. They must be given support by iwi but they must also make sure that they can meet iwi expectations and needs. The learner is thus to be empowered not just as an individual but also as a member of a group.

An example was provided in our research by a kaiako who worked with the parents (both mothers and fathers) and their young children to improve their spoken Maori. This inspired these young parents to continue learning in the company of their preschool children. When the kaiako was put forward for the Tino Rangatiratanga Whakapakari training, she again drew on whanau support.

As a group, the kaiako and those who assisted her accomplished at least three things that have to be recognised somehow in the assessment of this kind of learning. Firstly, they discovered how well they could work together. Secondly, the other learners who helped the kaiako with her assignments were not only learning something new; they, too, had a role in the discovery of gaps in their own learning. For them, their participation in the group learning had diagnostic value and the exercise could lead to more effective planning of their own current and future learning. Thirdly, their participation in the group learning has given them the opportunity to make a useful contribution towards a more meaningful assessment of the learning that went on. For example, they would be able to prepare testimonials for the kaiako to use in the assessment of her learning.

Indeed, the other members of the kohanga reo whanau that the kaiako worked with had become involved in an important aspect of co-operative learning, its formative assessment. They had gained sufficient knowledge to give valid testimony about the content, the scope, and the depth of the kaiako's knowledge, skills, and insights. But in the process of being involved in group assessment, they could reflect on their own role in the learning and also start developing their own learning portfolio relative to whatever qualification for which their experiential learning happened to be relevant.

How does a National Qualifications Framework make room for the recognition of the social meaning of Maori learning such as has been described here? How can a Qualifications Framework that is based on measurable outputs incorporate a system of learning in which the process of acquiring that knowledge is considered as important?

Socially Shared Cognition and the Art of Carving

Some Maori carvers have relied on the group method for the passing on of knowledge and skills in what would have been a Maori art at risk. In this example, the group is a viable teaching and learning unit because of a kind of socially shared cognition that enables different members to teach or to contribute to co-operative learning from their own position of strength. S.M. Mead (1961, p.55) describes how this worked in the revitalisation of an important part of Maori culture in his book, *The Art of Maori Carving*:

> The teacher of carving may adopt one of two aims. Either he will train with the end that each student will be efficient at all phases of Maori carving such as adzing, drawing, sculpturing, surface decoration and finishing, or he will train a group rather than an individual. In the already dim days of the past, the tohunga's aim was to produce a complete carver, expert in all fields of carving, including history, genealogy, religion and mythology, for these provided the background to the craft. The student, after intensive training, emerged from the course a tapu person and a qualified craftsman.

In later times graduates from the Rotorua School of Art became leaders of carving groups set up to undertake local projects. A group would consist of at least one trained expert with a team of voluntary helpers. The leader would teach while the carvings were being done and in this way more apprentices were trained. The carving experts of today, many of whom are products of the Rotorua School, are the people who in a large measure revived Maori carving. Carved meeting houses all over the country are a result of this activity.

This example demonstrates the viability of a system that relies on socially shared cognition for the transmission of knowledge and skills. To continue:

> The group method . . . does not aim at producing all-round experts but rather specialists in some particular aspect of carving. The student could be quite capable of executing other aspects but he would be definitely outstanding in one particular branch. Each would be required to be proficient at sculpturing but thereafter group members specialising in, say, haehae or pakati decoration would take over. This recognises the fact that certain individuals are better than others, and the group, as well as the work in hand, would benefit by their specialist services inasmuch as high standards are maintained. A group consisting of six members would have a specialist for preparation of work, that is, adzing or planing and drawing. He would ensure that there is sufficient work for all members because all can sculpt. Once the sculpturing on one piece is completed three specialist members would take over surface decoration. The haehae expert would begin work and he would be followed by the pakati specialist who in turn would be followed and assisted by the third member specialising in cleaning and touching up. A piece of carving would therefore be really a team effort, its success dependent on co-operation and good organisation. The method is excellent for large-scale work and for such projects as gateways. . . . The group method is ideal for group work but the smaller personal object will have to be an individual effort. (ibid., pp.55-57)

The group method, far from fragmenting a system of education and training, could actually lend it strength simply through the recognition of its complexity. But because it is complex it does not follow that its goals are unattainable. The kohanga reo whanau that favours the socially shared cognition approach is simply saying that it does not want the standards watered down for any of its members. Whichever part of the training they can master should be recognised and then they should be given the opportunity to work towards mastery of the rest of the programme requirements. Mastery is seen by them as a developmental process.

This point of view was echoed by members of the other kohanga reo in the study where learners of the reo were finding it hard to acquire the expertise of the native speaker of the Maori language. The kaiako should not be asked to do the impossible, they thought. The main problem should be for the kaiako to understand that fluency in Maori is the ultimate goal; whatever they are able to do in the process of learning is only part of the picture just as the student carver has to understand that the main problem is the actual carving. There is absolutely no reason for the novice carver to be stumped at initial drawing stage. Mastery of the whole project can be achieved eventually by practice and diligence.

To avoid fragmentation, it is essential that a group, whether it is learning to carve or to run a kohanga reo properly, has a master design or learning programme to guide the learning. In carving, for example, the master designer will plan and design the carving to be done and make sure that not only are technical standards met but also the social meaning of the activity is preserved.

> He will be the one who will understand and be able to explain the story being told in wood and who will know about the history of the ancestor being commemorated. He will also be the person to correct drawing faults unwittingly made by the novice; to correct slovenly sculpturing; to demonstrate, to encourage and assist when difficulties are encountered. He will be the tohunga of the group. (op.cit.)

The sharing of knowledge and skills by a group of individuals with different specialisations challenges the concept of individual qualifications. How can a Qualifications Framework based on individuals' attaining specified combinations of skills at particular times accommodate the sharing of knowledge and skills of a group?

Acknowledging Learning

A system of qualifications that is sufficiently unified for individual learners to see where they are going in terms of earning nationally recognised qualifications has advantages. But at the same time, many New Zealanders are committed to the recognition of important cultural differences underlying our education structures. A sensitivity to these differences should be reflected in our efforts to develop a set of relevant level descriptions to be used for assigning Maori units and qualifications to levels in the National Qualifications Framework. We must be careful not to ignore the complexity of the issues as we try to achieve coherence in the level descriptions. The search for quality and a meaningful unity in education and training must be balanced by a deep appreciation of the cultural diversity in New Zealand society that could become divisive if people feel that issues which they consider to be of crucial importance to them are going to be sidestepped.

In the course of our research, we have discovered some of the sources of the anxiety engendered in the Maori world by the efforts to develop a National Framework that includes "Maori qualifications". Among those who have reflected on the issues, there is deep concern for what may be lost, as the movement to incorporate "Maori qualifications" into the National Framework gathers momentum. It may be possible to address some of the concerns of Maori people through a well thought-out and carefully implemented service for the assessment and recognition of prior experiential learning.

What constitutes genuine learning? One suggestion that is being mooted is the development of two parallel systems of qualifications, a Maori system alongside the National Framework. A sensitive recognition of prior learning would be needed to link the two systems so that individual learners could be enabled to move without hindrance from one system to the other. This approach would take account of important differences in the modes of learning and teaching that exist between the major cultures in New Zealand.

The development of two parallel systems of qualification could lead to the Maori system being marginalised. There would be a real danger of this happening if the Maori partner did not get a fair share of the decision making on all the major issues. Who decides what is to be learnt? How is the learning to be done? Who learns? Who makes the choice of learners and what criteria are used? These questions must all be asked, and the successful integration of Maori qualifications within any National Framework depends on Maori being allowed to answer them. For example, if an iwi or Maori group decides who is chosen to undertake a particular learning programme, for example, carving, that group also throws its support behind that learner. The group also assumes collectively a direct responsibility for quality assurance and for the success of the learner in achieving the required and desired knowledge and skills. Even in the Maori qualifications that are included in the National Framework, iwi would

have a stake in the quality of what is achieved if the certificate, for example, had an endorsement which signified official iwi involvement and approval.

A qualifications system that subscribes to the principle of recognising genuine learning, however it is acquired, tends to focus on the outcomes. This focus away from formal education and training is a way of enabling individuals to earn credit for their knowledge and skills from life and work - any learning that they can describe, demonstrate to be relevant to what they seek and to be of the quality that is required - towards a qualification. It shifts the control and responsibility for learning to the learner, away from the education and training provider. From a Maori perspective, this raises the question of how a group might be able to retain a stake in the learning which should not necessarily mean absolute control of it. For iwi-based learning then, there are some issues of group involvement in quality assurance which concern not only outcomes but also the process of co-operative and iwi-supported learning.

If the stress is solely or mainly on outcomes, the question may be asked, is there not a danger that the social meaning of learning may be taken for granted? Clearly, if we are to remain committed to the recognition of genuine learning, we must be sure that we do not undermine the quality of the learning that we want to acknowledge formally. The maintenance of quality is more complex than making sure that standards are adhered to. Perhaps the issue goes back to what we define as assessable knowledge and skills. What is the meaningful minimal unit for assessment and recognition? There are cultural considerations in defining such a unit. Maori people should be given the opportunity to think about this question before any serious work could even begin in deciding what assessment procedures will be needed to make the linking of different kinds of learning possible.

Issues for a National Qualifications Framework

We have merely touched on the wider issues that should be addressed in relating Maori learning to a National Qualifications Framework. It does appear that three different sets of knowledge and skills have emerged which tend to be lumped under the term "Maori qualifications". First, there is the set that are currently included in the National Qualifications Framework which are seen by Maori to put emphasis on the more technical aspects of traditional Maori knowledge and skills, for example, carving or weaving as they are promoted in polytechnic courses on Maori carving and weaving. Secondly, there are the iwi-based kinds of Maori learning that are seen to be adequately recognised in the Maori world, such as those associated with traditionally defined social roles, for example, that of the tohunga whakairo. Thirdly, there is the kind of knowledge that is usually associated with university learning which involves the mastery of a body of knowledge but which does not relate directly to vocational skills. As an example, a linguistics student is expected to achieve a good understanding of the structure of a language but while the mastery of the syntactic rules of that language may be needed, for example, for its analysis, such knowledge does not relate directly to the ability of the student to speak or teach the language.

There is no need to assume that we are dealing with mutually exclusive categories of knowledge. It should be possible to link them to one another, and where a qualification involves more than one set of these skills and knowledge, a good Recognition of Prior Learning service can be used for ensuring that the appropriate standards and criteria are met. One concern for Maori is the quality of the knowledge base that education and training providers operate from. One informant expressed concern over the body of knowledge that university students, for example, might be expected to master for certain degrees identified as "Maori qualifications". Providers have to examine what they offer, what

level in the Framework is aimed for, and what standards and criteria they use for assessment. Continuing research and staff development will need to be done by providers to improve their services to different kinds of learners.

Always, we have to be clear as to what is being assessed and what standards and criteria apply in each case. Otherwise, ill-based generalisations are made and confusing conclusions are drawn about the competence of the learner and what level in the Qualifications Framework is sought. Glib statements are often made concerning the lack of fluency of university students in spoken Maori compared with that of kohanga reo children. There are some hidden assumptions being made here about the nature of university learning, for instance. Where the vocational competence of a kaiako in a kohanga reo is in question, however, there is another set of knowledge and skills involved. It would be quite inappropriate to use the same set of standards and criteria for assessing the kaiako's competence as would be used for the assessment of the linguistics student's. Where two different qualifications are being compared, each requires its own set of standards of assessment.

It is imperative to continue research to enable not only Maori but all New Zealanders to have a better informed discussion on the benefits and disadvantages of the recognition of Maori knowledge and skills and of making them part of the National Framework. This project hopes to have made a contribution in this area by looking at the approaches to learning used by Maori people, the values and principles that inform and guide the strategies of education employed, and the factors defining the context of learning. Questions are being raised about ownership and control of Maori learning which is recognised and included in the National Qualifications Framework.

There is supportive rhetoric for the granting of national recognition to Maori knowledge and skills but in putting this into practice how much is gained, and how much is lost? There are many traps to beware of. While participation in the development of the National Framework is said to be completely voluntary, the hidden constraints on meaningful involvement on the part of the Maori partner in education and national development must also be recognised and confronted. This is not so much to question the intentions of NZQA as to keep the lines of communication open at both ends so that the issues can be debated before policies are formulated and set in concrete.

We are all learners. Together, as a learning society, we must find ways of enabling teachers and taught to soar and explore greater heights without hurrying unduly. This co-operative action was what George Parkyn, a former director of the New Zealand Council for Educational Research, referred to when he wrote (1964, p.29):

> . . . we shall be faced with more and more pressure from agencies of instruction that may tend to make us passive receivers rather than active creators. We shall need to be on our guard against sealing ourselves and our children inside a great conditioning chamber whose instructional and propaganda waves beat upon us day and night and give us no time to be still, to listen in silence to our inner voices and impulses, and to meditate upon them, to respect our own integrity and to have the chance to be ourselves.
>
> The risk is there . . . to combat it we, as parents and as teachers, have constantly to renew our communion with the great sources of human inspiration - children, spontaneous play, nature, art, music, history, literature, not as things to learn facts about, to have information of, but to enjoy, to feel with, to experience. This communion, you will note, is what has always characterized the highest and freest spirits . . .

Including, we believe, the spirit of various learning initiatives in the Maori world.

CHAPTER 3

LEVEL DESCRIPTORS FOR UNIT FOR MAORI NATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS

Background

There is no logical justification for having a different set of descriptors for courses that are taught in the Maori language but which are otherwise the same as those which are taught in English. However, if the unit is labelled *Maori* because the course it relates to purports to be conducted on Maori principles of learning, or to be advancing the special needs of Maori people as Maori, then there will need to be criteria for ensuring that such a unit is "true to label". There are a number of general considerations which should apply to the approval of qualifications and to the accreditation of providers - for example, the attributes of a Maori qualification outlined in the NZQA's *Training Programme for Private Training Establishments of Aotearoa* (1993). These factors are discussed in the next chapter.

The use of the term "Maori" in connection with a unit or qualification should be approved by an iwi rūnanga or similar body authorised by Maori people to speak for them. This proviso should be taken as part of all the specifications which follow.

At the time this report was being prepared, we were told by members of NZQA working in this area that the levels descriptors suggested in the Wagner and Sass report (1992) had been accepted as the interim working descriptors by the Authority. We therefore took these descriptors as a starting point, and modified them according to our perceptions of what would constitute a Maori qualification within the Framework, in the light of our research.

The modifications to the Wagner and Sass descriptors recommended here are of two kinds. Firstly, we would remove three of the sixteen categories in their schema, as too specifically targeted to be useful in a set of levels descriptors designed to be generally applicable. These are:

Category 8 (degree of external supervision/autonomy);
Category 11 (supervisory or managerial role); and
Category 12 (financial control).

We would recommend that the various standards boards be encouraged to develop their own sets of descriptors to supplement the more general descriptors, and use these when profiling units within their area of concern. In certain kinds of management courses, for example, the three sets of descriptors we have removed from the list would be highly relevant. They may also be relevant in some specifically Maori qualifications; for example, a fully qualified master carver requires considerable organisational, managerial, and financial skills, and descriptors related to these areas might well be applied in assessing

the level of certain units within a carving course. Nonetheless, these descriptors either would not apply across the broad range of units within carving or many other qualifications, or are in fact subsumed under other categories (there is a close relationship, for example, between "degree of external supervision" (category 8) and "instructions received" (category 4). We therefore recommend that they be dropped from the basic core.

The remaining categories of descriptors provide a broad enough range of options to enable the profiling of general and vocational units, and, in combination with the additional categories specified below, could form part of the set of descriptors for Maori qualifications. These generally applicable categories are:

Process engaged in (NZQA Category 1);
Nature of job tasks (NZQA Category 2);
Range of predictability (NZQA Category 3);
Instructions received (NZQA Category 4);
Degree of cognitive skill (NZQA Category 5);
Degree of psychomotor skill (NZQA Category 6);
Degree of communication skill (NZQA Category 7);
Job role responsibility (NZQA Category 9);
Co-worker responsibility role (NZQA Category 10);
Vocational description (NZQA Category 13);
Training for occupation (NZQA Category 14);
Standard qualification (NZQA Category 15);
Educational level or equivalent (NZQA Category 16).

Secondly, we recommend the addition of three new components to descriptors for Maori qualifications within the Framework (whether those listed above, or subsequent modifications or replacements of them).

These are:

(1) Discretion, that is, the ethical control of knowledge.
(2) Creative contribution, that is, leadership responsibility.
(3) Sociocultural responsibility, that is, the translation of Maori knowledge into appropriate behaviour and action.

We noted that the key recommendations of the Wagner and Sass report in relation to the writing and use of descriptors appear to be:

1. Use job, or occupational function, rather than task or procedures for specifying levels;

2. Do not choose framework level for a unit based on its own performance objectives, but rather on the function and roles for the occupation that the qualification is designed for. (Wagner & Sass, 1992, p.41, recommendations 1 and 3.)

It seems to us that the relationship between qualifications and occupation can be overstated, and this is a tendency in the Wagner and Sass schema. However, if "occupation" is reinterpreted as "purpose",

the approach outlined by Wagner and Sass is very helpful. From our research into both the contemporary and traditional Maori approaches to learning, it is clear that there are certain responsibilities in regard to knowledge and behaviour which attach to various levels of expertise. These expectations are very strong, and apply across the broad range of academic, general, and technical qualifications. We have attempted to incorporate these notions at each level of the Framework in our suggested descriptors under these headings.

It will be noted that Maori language does not figure directly in either the specific or general levels definitions for Maori qualifications. This is not because we dispute the contention that ko te reo te mauri o te mana Māori [the language is the essence of Maori mana]. On the contrary. However, as Wagner and Sass have pointed out (1992, p.41, recommendation 4) essential skills are not useful for the purposes of describing the levels. For this reason, we have made recommendations about the place of Maori language in Maori qualifications in chapter 4 of this report, where we deal with criteria for the qualifications themselves within the bands spanned by the various types of qualifications.

Finally, we must place on record our unease about the status of levels 4, 5, and 6. Although the currently used descriptors provide gradations from one level to another, it seems that in practice there will be a great deal of overlap in many occupationally specific units written for these levels. For the purposes of this report, however, we have accepted the levels as representing some kind of continuum, albeit on a nominal rather than an interval scale. For the Maori qualifications, one end of this continuum is the most elementary post-compulsory unit, the other what might be expected of the holder of a *tohu kairangi* as envisaged in the NZQA *Training Programme* (1993a). We have written our descriptors accordingly, paying careful attention to the criteria laid down in the Wagner and Sass recommendations as amended in the NZQA guidelines which were current in 1993.

General Definitions of Levels

We recommend the following general definitions of levels for Maori qualifications within the National Qualifications Framework. These extend the currently used general definitions from Level 4 on to cover key social and cultural concerns of Maori people in respect of Maori qualifications. We have also noted the equivalent educational levels and types of qualification associated with each level by the NZQA.

Level 1: Units completed at this level are a foundation for subsequent training and education, which will lead to certificated qualifications. (Qualification: National Certificate (some School Certificate subjects). Equivalent in formal education system: secondary school years 2/3 or their equivalent at polytechnic or other post-school provider.)

Level 2: Units completed at this level lead to further education and training at higher levels and to certificated qualifications for basic technical skills and elementary theoretical knowledge. (Qualification: National Certificate (some School Certificate and Sixth Form Certificate subjects). Equivalent: secondary school years 3/4 or their equivalent at polytechnic or other post-school provider.)

Level 3: Units completed at this level lead to further education and training at higher levels and to certificated qualifications for semideveloped skills. (Qualification: National Certificate (some Sixth Form Certificate and most University Bursaries subjects). Equivalent: secondary school years 4/5 or their equivalent at polytechnic or other post-school provider.)

Level 4: Units completed at this level lead to further education and training at higher levels and to certificated qualifications for specialised skills and the assumption of some independent work and cultural responsibility. (Qualification: National Certificate (Entrance Scholarships/ Trades Certificate). Equivalent: elementary 100-level courses or their equivalent at polytechnic or other post-school provider, or university.)

Level 5: Units completed at this level lead to further education and training at higher levels and to certificated qualifications for advanced development of specialised skills with the assumption of independent work and cultural responsibility. (Qualification: National Diploma (Advanced Trades Certificate/Technician Certificate). Equivalent: 100-level courses or their equivalent at school, polytechnic, other post-school provider, or university.)

Level 6: Units completed at this level lead to further education and training at higher levels and to certificated qualifications for specialist skills, considerable breadth of theoretical and cultural knowledge, and considerable work and cultural responsibility. (Qualification: National Diploma. Equivalent: 200-level courses or their equivalent at polytechnic, other post-school provider, or university.)

Level 7: Units completed at this level lead to further education and training at a higher level and to certificated qualifications, equivalent to first degree for expert skills, considerable depth and breadth of theoretical and cultural knowledge, and a high degree of independent work and cultural responsibility. (Qualification: Degree/National Diploma. Equivalent: 300-level courses or their equivalent at polytechnic, other post-school provider, or university.)

Level 8: Units completed at this level lead to further education and training and to certificated qualifications, for higher expert skills, exceptional depth and breadth of theoretical and cultural knowledge, and full work and cultural responsibility. (Qualification: higher degree, postgraduate research, and/or publications. Equivalent: honours and postgraduate degrees, diplomas, and certificates.)

Detailed Definitions of Levels

Listed below are the descriptors at each level for the three components we recommend should be added to the National Qualifications Framework for units categorised as Maori. The ways in which these components may be incorporated within the profile for Maori units at a given level are discussed in chapter 4 of this report.

Descriptors for Component 1: Discretion

Awareness that knowledge is a taonga. Level 1.

Awareness that knowledge is a taonga and has social meaning, relevance, and importance. Levels 2 and 3.

Awareness of need to exercise discretion in the transmission of knowledge. Levels 3 and 4.

Active appreciation of knowledge as a taonga. Level 4.

Awareness of the social ownership of knowledge. Level 5.

Able to exercise a high degree of discretion in the transmission of knowledge. Level 5.

Considerable awareness of the social ownership of knowledge. Level 6.

Able to exercise discretion in application and use of knowledge. Level 6.

Sensitive treatment of taonga. Levels 6, 7, and 8.

Full awareness of the social ownership of knowledge. Levels 7 and 8.

High degree of discretion in the application and use of knowledge. Level 7.

Absolute discretion in the application and use of knowledge. Level 8.

Descriptors for Component 2: Creative Contribution

Awareness that knowledge brings social responsibilities. Level 1.

Awareness of need for knowledgeable people in the Maori world to undertake teaching and/or leadership roles. Level 2.

Good understanding and acceptance of need to undertake leadership and/or teaching roles appropriate to one's knowledge and skills. Level 3.

Able to exercise leadership or teaching role appropriate to this level of the qualification. Level 4.

Some expectation of creative contribution to the development of Maori society and the assumption of appropriate leadership and/or teaching roles. Level 5.

Considerable expectation of a creative contribution to the development of Maori society and the assumption of appropriate leadership and/or teaching roles. Level 6.

High expectation of creative contribution to the development of Maori society and the assumption of a leadership and/or teaching role. Level 7.

High expectation of creative contribution to the development of Maori society and the assumption of a leadership and/or teaching role. Level 8.

Descriptors for Component 3: Sociocultural Responsibility

Acceptance of need to follow appropriate tikanga. Level 1.

Ability to follow appropriate tikanga. Level 2.

Some knowledge of religious and historical aspects of taonga within own or local iwi. Level 2.

Limited responsibility for following appropriate tikanga. Level 3.

Some knowledge and understanding of religious and historical aspects of taonga within own or local iwi. Level 3.

Responsibility for following appropriate tikanga. Level 4.

Good knowledge and understanding of religious and historical aspects of taonga within own or local iwi. Level 4.

Considerable responsibility for following appropriate tikanga. Level 5.

Considerable breadth of knowledge and understanding of religious and historical aspects of taonga within own or local iwi. Level 5.

High degree of responsibility for following appropriate tikanga. Level 6.

Good depth of knowledge and understanding of religious, mythological, and historical underpinnings of taonga within own or local iwi. Level 6.

Strong responsibility for exemplifying appropriate tikanga. Level 7.

Considerable depth of knowledge and understanding of religious, mythological, and historical underpinnings of taonga within at least one iwi, and some across iwi boundaries. Level 7.

Full responsibility for exemplifying appropriate tikanga. Level 8.

Great depth of knowledge and understanding of religious, mythological, and historical underpinnings of taonga across iwi boundaries. Level 8.

Profiling

Units would be assigned to a particular level on a "best fit" basis. The intended outcomes of the unit can be compared with the sets of level categories and the unit placed at the most appropriate level. It is important to note that for any given unit, some of the sixteen categories used in the above descriptions are likely not to be applicable. Furthermore, for some units the requirements on some of the descriptor categories may be well above the minimum for the level at which the unit is placed. It is important always to keep in mind the purpose for which the unit is designed, and also the appropriate level for the qualification itself.

While there is thus no set combination of characteristics which a qualification must have in order to be placed at a given level, we would recommend that any Maori unit must match the descriptor for at least *one* of the three specifically Maori categories (discretion, creative contribution, cultural responsibility) at or above the level at which the unit is registered. This should apply even to units for courses taught through Maori, as the awareness of and education for the social roles and responsibilities implied by a Maori qualification are not guaranteed simply by the choice of language. How such units might be combined within a Maori qualification are discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

DESCRIPTORS FOR MAORI NATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS

General Principles

Within the Framework, qualifications will be made up of registered units and their associated unit standards. Presumably, Maori qualifications will be made up to a significant degree of *Maori* units. The NZQA *Training Programme for Private Training Establishments* states, for example (1993, p.36), that Maori units of learning (that is units, together with the relevant unit standards):

- are the building blocks for Maori-based qualifications;
- may be essential or optional to other qualifications but will be credited
- will incorporate Maori unit delivery.

Maori qualifications thus need to be defined not merely in terms of units and unit standards, or even of outcomes or content. Accreditation factors will play a crucial role in determining how and where these qualifications can be obtained.

We will deal first with what might be a reasonable procedure for constructing a Maori qualification within the Framework; that is, what combinations of registered units can reasonably be held to constitute such a qualification at a given level. There is a larger question, whether in fact the Framework can or should incorporate all Maori qualifications, which will be ignored in this discussion, but will be returned to later in this report.

Under the National Qualifications Framework there are only four generic qualifications:

- National Certificate, which is located schematically among units at levels 1 to 4;
- National Diploma, placed at levels 5 and 6;
- First degrees, placed at level 7; and
- Advanced degrees, placed at level 8.

In fact, however, the level of a qualification does not necessarily correspond to the sum (or average) of its component parts. In a first degree, for example, only about 12 percent of the component credits will normally be at the level of the qualification itself (that is, level 7, where the courses and associated unit standards are at the 300-level in the university classification). The rest of the qualification has been gained through lower-level study in preparation for the study of the higher-level units. We presume that many other qualifications will be similarly made up of units at different levels. However, in the four-tier system under the Framework, it is only the National Diploma and first degree qualifications

for which components need to be specified in detail in terms of level, as all the units associated with higher degrees are normally at that level (8), and those for certificates presumably would fall normally within levels 1 to 4.

We therefore envision a roughly parallel level structure of units for National Diplomas and first degrees, that is, a minimum percentage of higher-level credits and a maximum number of lower-level credits. The recommendations here relating to levels are based on the current minimum requirements for university degrees. They could easily be adjusted to conform to whatever NZQA's requirements may be in future in regard to these kinds of qualifications. The important considerations are:

- ensuring that the proper mix of units at various levels is included in the qualification;
- ensuring that there is a significant proportion of Maori units so designated in any qualification which is classed as a Maori qualification;
- ensuring that due attention is given to *te reo Māori* within the structure of the Maori qualification; and
- ensuring that the stone does not shatter - that is, that the qualification forms a coherent whole, a kete secured with the appropriate thread, not just a grab-bag of bits and pieces related only by the label "Maori".

The following generic descriptions of Maori qualifications under the Framework are therefore proposed as a starting point for discussion and negotiation between NZQA and various interested parties. The general principles underlying these descriptors are that a Maori qualification within the National Qualifications Framework should:

- consist of Maori units accounting for at least half of the total credits comprising the qualification (a Maori unit being a unit registered as such under the Framework and conforming to the requirements outlined in chapter 3 of this report);
- include Maori units at the highest level required for the qualification which account for at least 10 percent of the minimum credits required for the qualification;
- include a significant proportion of credits derived from units either learned through the medium of Maori, or in which the study and/or use of the Maori language was a dominant component;
- constitute a coherent whole.

For Maori Advanced Degrees and Equivalent Qualifications

(a) All units at level 8;

(b) At least half the credits for the qualification derived from registered Maori units;

(c) (i) Units in which the Maori language was the medium of teaching and learning constitute at least 10 percent of the credits towards the qualification; AND

(ii) Additional units in which the study and/or use of the Maori language was a major component (including additional units taught through the medium of Maori) constitute at least a further 25 percent of the credits towards the qualification;

(d) At least two-thirds of the total credits comprising the qualification have been earned through units gained at or under the aegis of the institution awarding the qualification, or at a single institution, or through a single provider in the case that the qualification is awarded directly by NZQA.

For Maori First Degrees and Equivalent Qualifications

(a) At least 10 percent of credits derived from level 7 Maori units;

(b) At least 40 percent of credits derived from units at level 6 and above, and at least half of these credits from Maori units;

(c) At least 95 percent of credits derived from units at level 5 and above, and at least half of these credits from Maori units;

(d) Not more than 5 percent of credits derived from units at level 4;

(e) No credits derived from units below level 4;

(f) (i) At least 10 percent of credits gained from units at level 5 or above in which Maori was the language of teaching and learning; AND

(ii) A further 20 percent of total credits gained from units in which the study and/or use of the Maori language was a dominant component (including additional units taught through Maori);

(g) At least two-thirds of the total credits comprising the qualification have been earned through units gained at or under the aegis of the institution awarding the qualification, or at a single institution, or through a single provider in the case that the qualification is awarded directly by NZQA.

For Maori National Diplomas

(a) At least 10 percent of credits derived from Maori units at level 5 or above;

(b) At least 40 percent of credits derived from units at level 4 or above, and at least half of these from Maori units;

(c) At least 95 percent of credits derived from units at level 3 or above, and at least half of these from Maori units;

(d) Not more than 5 percent of credits derived from units at level 2;

(e) No credits derived from units below level 2;

(f) (i) At least 5 percent of credits gained from units at level 3 or above in which Maori was the language of teaching and learning; AND

(ii) A further 20 percent of total credits gained from units in which the study and/or use of the Maori language was a dominant component (including additional units taught through Maori);

(g) At least two-thirds of the total credits at level 4 and above included in the qualification have been earned through units gained at or under the aegis of the institution awarding the qualification, or at a single institution, or through a single provider in the case that the qualification is awarded directly by NZQA.

For Maori National Certificates

(a) At least 95 percent of credits derived from units at level 1 or above at least half of which are Maori units;

(b) Not more than 5 percent of credits derived from unclassified courses or courses below level 1 requirements.

(c) In the case of National Certificates requiring a certain proportion of advanced units in their composition, not less than half the credits at the highest level required shall have been gained from Maori units;

(d) At least 20 percent of total credits gained from units in which the study and/or use of the Maori language was a dominant component (including units taught through Maori);

(e) (i) At least two-thirds of the total credits at the two highest levels required for the certificate, OR

(ii) In the case of Maori National Certificates comprised of units at a single level, half the total credits, and not less than two-thirds of the Maori credits, have been earned through units gained at or under the aegis of the institution awarding the qualification, or at a single institution, or through a single provider in the case that the qualification is awarded directly by NZQA.

The acceptance of a small amount of work (no more than 5 percent) completed outside the Framework requirements within National Certificate courses would allow, for example, elementary Maori language courses which do not meet School Certificate equivalence but nevertheless do represent a learning achievement to be required and credited towards these qualifications.

The decreased Maori-language requirement in the lower-level qualifications is necessary at present to ensure that Maori people are not debarred from gaining Maori qualifications simply because they do not speak Maori. At present, only a small minority of Maori adults are fluent in the language, and there is a critical shortage of teachers competent to teach in Maori or to teach Maori language. A stricter Maori-language requirement would therefore reduce access to education for Maori people in two ways. Many would find it difficult to cope with courses taught in Maori or with a heavy emphasis on the study and use of the language at the present time, and providers would find it very difficult to obtain competent teachers for such courses if they were mandated on an across-the-board basis. On the other hand, degree-granting institutions and their students have the time, facilities, and obligation to take the lead in Maori-language provision and acquisition, hence the stricter requirements proposed at the degree levels.

As the supply of teachers and the availability of materials improves, the language component of Maori qualifications can be made more stringent. Even now, certain qualifications, for example courses designed to prepare teachers for bilingual and Maori-immersion programmes, would be expected to have a higher Maori-medium composition. The generic requirements are minima, to be augmented as required for specific purposes.

The protection of the integrity of the qualification will come from the course approval and provider accreditation processes, rather than a set of descriptors. Those above concentrate on place, an important consideration in Maori learning principles, but not the only relevant dimension. The procedures for course approval and the monitoring of provision should ensure that units which can be credited towards a given course will form a coherent whole.

It is also important to ensure that qualifications and their component parts are available at levels which are appropriate to the purpose for which the qualification is intended to serve. The gradation of levels has social as well as educational and occupational implications, and it is not at all unlikely that some course designers would prefer their course to be at a higher level than is necessary in order to enhance its prestige. Such inflation of the value of a credential is understandable, but in the long run damaging to everyone concerned. If the course is so demanding that attaining the standards associated

with a given level is very difficult, many people who could have benefited will be denied access; on the other hand, if the standards actually required of students (as against those agreed to in theory) are appreciably lower than those normally associated with the official level of such a qualification, although adequate for its vocational purposes, this will eventually become obvious, and the qualification will be devalued to the detriment of its holders and those of other apparently similar qualifications. Course approval, and particularly the matching of qualifications and their component courses to levels, must thus take into account much more than can be captured by the descriptors.

Accrediting of Providers of Maori Units and Maori National Qualifications

The question of who can legitimately provide Maori units and the associated qualifications is a serious one. It seems to us that if the unit or qualification has the label "Maori", it should in fact have been approved in the first place not by NZQA, but by an iwi rūnanga or some other body which can speak for Maori interests. Similarly, the group, organisation, or institution providing the unit or qualification should also have been authorised to do so by an iwi or other competent Maori authority. The possibility for such a procedure seems to be provided for in NZQA's current regulations for accreditation and course approval. The approval by NZQA and the fitting of the qualification into the Framework comes after Maori endorsement has been secured. We believe this latter stage *is* NZQA's business, as these units and qualifications are *both* Maori *and* national, and thus must satisfy both Maori and national criteria.

Even so, it is likely that some iwi and other groups will wish to set up courses or provide qualifications which will conflict with the national criteria in one way or another. Problems could arise, for example, over access requirements. NZQA is committed to non-discriminatory provision of educational opportunities. However, even though admitting "low-born" people to courses of study no longer seems to be a burning issue among Maori educators, the far less radical (in traditional terms) step of admitting women to courses dealing with aspects of Maori knowledge does appear to be problematic still in some areas. There could also be problems of course content and classification, or even simply the need to assert tino rangatiratanga in maintaining the integrity of a Maori course of learning that might make either accreditation of a provider or the fitting of a course into the Framework a problem for one or more of the parties concerned.

Some traditional craftspeople with whom we conferred were uneasy about having to conform to the requirements of the Framework, yet at the same time they were concerned by the fact that many people well qualified in Maori terms were unable to find employment as tutors because they did not have recognised qualifications. Less skillful people, they said, often won positions ahead of genuine tohunga because they an "official" qualification (often in an area unrelated to the craft they were hired to teach). The craftspeople could see potential conflicts between their way of doing things and the requirements of the Framework, but at the same time, felt the need for official recognition of Maori expertise. They were not so much worried about fitting in with the Framework in itself, as that by converting their fields of knowledge into a form suitable for the Framework, they were also opening these up to too wide an audience; that is, iwi and hapu would lose control of their knowledge as the price of recognition.

We suggested that one way around this would be to have a parallel system of Maori qualifications outside the National Framework, established by iwi either independently or in co-operation with each other. In some areas, like carving and weaving, the validity of such qualifications would quickly become apparent, and they would probably be much more valuable (because of their inherently greater

authenticity) than any similar qualification gained within the Framework. The problem with this approach, we were told, would be that government funding is likely to be confined to institutions working within the Framework or established under the Education Act. However, it would seem that such independent institutions could claim funding under article 2 of the Treaty, which guarantees the protection of taonga, even if they were ineligible for funding under Vote: Education. Qualifications thus earned could be transported in whole or in part to qualifications established within the Framework if (as is intended) comprehensive provision is made for the accreditation of prior learning.

NZQA's *Training Programme* (1993a, p.33) provides a list of descriptors related to Maori learning and teaching approaches which could be used in the accreditation process. Some of these features undoubtedly should characterise the approach of providers of Maori qualifications (cf. also the material on Maori modes of learning and teaching presented in chapter 2):

1. The notion of *ako* is the underpinning philosophy of Maori teaching and learning enterprises . . . *ako* means teacher and learner in a single enterprise, so the learner teaches and the teacher learns.
2. That management and instruction occur from the basis of such things as: whanaungatanga, tuakana-teina, awhi, tautoko, aroha o te tangata mo te tangata, mahitahi, te reo Maori, te takiri o te manawa, wairua, mana tangata.
3. [Awareness and recognition of] the role of non-verbal communication, e.g., whakama, whakaiti, whakahihi, whakaratarata, whakawhanaungatanga [among others].
4. All learning is embraced within the medium of wairua so that feelings of ihi, wana, tapu, noa, wehi, become an integral part of the learner's learning.
5. Co-operative learning is encouraged so learners learn to interact with each other, share ideas and answers, and promote each other.
6. An openness to whanau and hinga tautoko participation and involvement is of prime importance.
7. Specific Maori environments should be selected to reinforce the knowledge and wisdom being nurtured and developed to reaffirm the learner's significant place in the world.
8. The teacher/trainer facilitates learning nurturing the preservation of the learner's mauri and self-esteem.
9. Selection of content, standards, assessment procedures, and resources must be culturally appropriate to enhance the learner's development.
10. The use of te reo Maori - te reo rangatira is a tool for instruction, learning dialogue, and communication.
11. The recognition of the knowledge, skills, and abilities that the learners bring with them must be embraced in the kaupapa of your programme (prior learning). Time for learner and teacher reflection is critical.
12. Specific Maori learning and teaching approaches encourage practical learner participation in the achievement of learning outcomes.

In looking at lists of descriptors or criteria such as these, however, it is important to recognise that the key elements in defining an environment as Maori (and its perception as such by those who work

and teach in it) are often the intangibles - a sense of common identity and purpose, for example - rather than any specific methodology or physical symbolism. One Maori provider whom we visited, for example, worked very successfully with disadvantaged Maori young people in a physical environment and following a curriculum which seemed totally Pakeha (and intentionally so, we were told, in order to enable the students to cope later on in such environments). The only overtly Maori feature was that each session began and ended with a karakia. This practice, however, immediately defined the learning situation as "Maori", other appearances to the contrary, and the values mentioned in several of the twelve points quoted above were clearly present in the way the course was organised and run, even though they may not have been talked about very often.

It is clear from our research (historical, documentary, and field work) that *process* is as important as product (indeed, an integral part in determining the acceptability of the product) in the context of Maori learning and teaching principles, both traditional and contemporary. This is something which the Framework itself cannot address directly in relation to unit levels, but it can be incorporated into the accreditation process. Although according to the NZQA document "Whaia te Iti Kahurangi" (1992) "delivery aspects are the prerogative of the provider", the "Maoriness" of certain activities is dependent on the way they have been carried out. This is particularly so in areas such as carving and weaving. A technician's approach may result in physical products of high quality, but these will not have the inherent authenticity of similar products which have resulted from the observance of the essential tikanga of the craft. There is potential for considerable conflict here between traditional, process-oriented approaches and a modern outcome-oriented view of education. Unless great care is taken in the approval of Maori qualifications, units and unit standards, and the accreditation of providers of Maori qualifications, the Framework could be used to facilitate the misappropriation and decontextualising of Maori knowledge.

Equivalences

Even if a set of descriptors and an appropriate accreditation process can be agreed on, it may still prove difficult to find a way of relating specifically Maori qualifications to the Framework, especially at the upper levels, in a way which satisfies Maori people and at the same time provides defensible equivalences with non-Maori qualifications. The problem will be not so much with the levels themselves, in broad outline, but with equivalences within levels, and especially with the details of equivalences between Maori and non-Maori qualifications.

An example of this was encountered in discussions we had with a tohunga who was planning to set up a 3-year course in a specialised field of traditional Maori knowledge. He wished this course to be as far as possible traditional (in an eighteenth century sense) - that is, all instruction would be oral, and all knowledge would have to be assimilated and demonstrated without recourse to writing. He wanted this course to be recognised as a B.A. degree (not merely equivalent to a B.A., in terms of the level reached within the Framework). It seems that in this case, and almost certainly in other cases also, it is ascribed identity rather than equivalence which is being sought. That is, the label, and the status which the label is seen to confer, is more important than what in terms of process, content, cognitive and academic skills and achievement the label is normally presumed to denote.

It is our understanding that level does not imply identity (that is, for example, that while within a university context a B.A., Mus.B., L.Th., and B.Sc., may all be at the same level, they cannot be presumed to be either identical or interchangeable). We thus see no reason why any specifically Maori qualification should be regarded as identical with a particular international academic qualification at

any given level of the National Framework. In fact, the giving of non-Maori labels to specifically Maori qualifications may well prove to be a retrograde step, providing a reason to require that the form and content of these qualifications be modified to ensure that they meet non-Maori (and, in terms of the Maori content, irrelevant) requirements. Certainly, the possession of a whatu kairangi in the past covered a wide range of learning; we would not recommend the resurrection of this term for anything less than an advanced degree (we note that in the *Training Programme* the Tohu Kairangi is listed as a Maori qualification at the Ph.D. level). We believe that the National Qualifications Framework system, with the certificates, national diplomas, and advanced diplomas for the certification of achievement in specialised areas of knowledge and skill at different levels, and degrees which combine mastery of a specialised body of knowledge with a broad base of knowledge in other areas within an academic context, is sufficiently flexible to allow both modern and traditional Maori qualifications to be related to each other in broad terms. Obtaining agreement as to where the "best fit" occurs for a traditional qualification (that is, a qualification based on traditional practice and criteria) will not always be easy, however, given the social as well as the educational implications of a particular classification.

Since the recognition of prior learning is an integral part of the Framework, there should be no insoluble problem in the translation of knowledge and skills gained outside the Framework into credit towards nationally recognised qualifications. The recognition of such learning could also enable appropriate cross-crediting or adjustments to course requirements for learners wishing to move from Maori qualifications to more general qualifications within the Framework. Because of the importance of the recognition of prior learning to Maori learners, we would strongly recommend that as part of their training registered RPL facilitators and assessors be made aware of the requirements and contents of both traditional Maori qualifications and those which are available through the national system.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this report has been to provide a set of concrete proposals for relating Maori units and Maori qualifications to the various levels of the National Qualifications Framework, and to identify Maori principles of learning and teaching which would facilitate that process. The report's proposals, while concrete and, we believe, coherent are however in no way definitive. Their most important function will be to provide a focus for discussion and ongoing development.

Our concrete proposals include modifications to the currently used set of descriptors for framework-levels for units by dropping three categories and making minor alterations to the wording of the descriptors in some of the other categories. We have suggested that standards boards may wish to develop their own sets of descriptors for categories particularly relevant to their fields, and that in fact the sets of descriptors we have suggested be dropped from the global set could well be utilised in this way.

We have added three new categories of descriptors for use with assigning Maori units to levels, and provided descriptors within these categories for each level. These new categories are, firstly, the ethical control of knowledge, that is, the development of an understanding of knowledge as a taonga and the exercise of discretion in its use and dissemination; secondly, the acceptance of the obligation of the need to play a creative role in Maori development through the assumption of leadership and teaching roles appropriate to the level of educational attainment; and thirdly, what we have called "sociocultural responsibility", that is, the responsibility of those who have attained higher learning to be aware of appropriate Maori ways of behaving, and to become increasingly able and willing to exemplify these tikanga Māori in their public life.

We have also provided a series of schemata which could be used in classifying Maori qualifications in accordance with the Framework's four major types of qualification: National Certificates, National Diplomas, first degrees, and advanced degrees (and equivalent qualifications). We have specified minimum Maori content, including units involving the study or use of the Maori language, in these qualifications if they are to be described as Maori. We would have liked to provide parallel sets of descriptors in English and Maori for both the unit and qualifications levels. Unfortunately, because of the time constraints on this project, we have not been able to do this. It is a task which should be given some priority by NZQA, as the descriptors, even for the categories common to Maori and other units, will have more meaning for Maori educators when expressed entirely in Maori.

In many parts of our report, we have stressed the need to preserve a wholeness and integrity in any attempt to design Maori units and to group them together as component parts of a qualification. Our extensive survey of past and present Maori educational ideas has made it very clear that a unity of process, content, and outcome is an essential characteristic of any educational approach which could

legitimately be described as "Maori". Maori units must therefore have an internal coherence and a clear relationship to other Maori units if they are to be of real value. These qualities cannot be assured by any set of levels descriptors, but, as we point out in chapter 4, accreditation and course approval procedures can do much to help ensure that the thread linking the units to a greater whole, the thread securing the kete, in traditional terms, is not broken.

We do not think that there will be automatic acceptance by traditional guardians of Maori knowledge of a National Framework which, simply because it is national, cannot be completely under Maori control. Our proposals do provide some guarantees that Maori units and qualifications developed under the Framework will conform to some essential traditional requirements. The development of discretion in the use of knowledge is one of these. The restrictions on access to certain kinds of knowledge in the past were primarily motivated by the intense desire to preserve the integrity of this knowledge. Such concerns are still paramount in the attitudes of many traditional educators. Privacy in knowledge attaches to groups as well as individuals in the Maori world, and the felt need of iwi to conserve their resources of this kind must be respected.

For reasons such as this, we suggest that provision should be made for an excellent system for the recognition of prior learning, which would enable knowledge gained outside the Framework to be brought inside the Framework when a particular learner wished to do this. We are aware that traditional knowledge and skills have often been devalued, and that this is one of the reasons for NZQA's strong interest in developing Maori qualifications within the Framework. There could still be a place, however, for the development of a completely autonomous Maori, that is, iwi-based, qualifications system which is not subject to control or regulation by Crown agencies. Funding could be sought for institutions offering such qualifications through article 2 rather than article 3 provisions, in relation to the Treaty and its guarantees. There is also a great deal of scope for NZQA to continue to work actively with iwi rūnanga and similar bodies in developing Maori units and qualifications within the Framework, which could satisfy both iwi and national criteria.

The theme of our report is interconnectedness. This is the essence of Maori learning and teaching: the need to ensure that harmony and balance accompany coherence.

Ka pā ki tua
Ka pā ki waho
Ka pā ki te whare
He wahanga nuku
He wahanga rangi

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APPENDIX 1

Ngā Kupu O Nehe e Pā ana ki te Wānanga

Terms Relating to Traditional Maori Higher Education

Originally compiled and annotated by Tipene Chrisp; augmented and edited by Richard Benton
(These terms are included in an on-line database accessible through Te Wahapū communications system.)

ahorangi: The chief expert of a School of Learning; a teacher of high standing. Best (1986), p.21; McLean (1981), p.20; Williams (1985), p.3.

ako: To learn; to teach, instruct, advise. Williams (1985), p.7.

ako/akoako: A scholar of the *whare kura* (Ngai Tahu). Tikao (in Beattie 1990, p.70). *Akoako* also means "consult together, give or take counsel" (Williams 1985, p.7).

ākonga: Best says that this is "the ordinary term for scholar"; Williams defines the term as "learner, disciple". Best (1941a), p.71; Best (1986), p.15. Williams (1985), p.7.

akoranga: Circumstance, place, time, etc., of learning; thing taught or learnt. Williams (1985), p.7.

amokapua: Chief, leader or priest. Williams (1985), p.8. In this sense, the term is a synonym for *amorangi* (see below). Amokapua has recently been used by the University of Waikato as the Maori term to designate the academic rank of dean.

amorangi: Priest or leader. The term also applied to the emblem of an atua (god) carried by tohunga in the van of an army. Williams (1985), p.8.

hoa: A karakia to break stone; one of the proficiency tests. Smith (1899), p.261.

horomatua: The third grade of priesthood. Williams (1985), p.61.

ika-a-Whiro: A tried warrior who trained youths in the para whakawai. Best (1941b), p.227.

ika whenua: Ceremony performed at the closing session of the whare tātai. White (1887) p.16.

kaituruki: A tohunga who acts as a prompt while another speaks or chants. Best (1986), p.18; McLean (1981), p.21.

kauwae raro: The lore of things terrestrial (i.e., history, legends, worldly matters). Best (1986), p.12; McLean (1981), p.18; Williams (1985), p.105. Literally, "lower jaw"; perhaps indicating the relative flexibility of the subject-matter.

kauwae runga: The lore of things celestial (i.e., higher mythology, karakia, religious matters) Best (1986), p.12; McLean (1981), p.19; Williams (1985), p.105. Literally "upper jaw"; indicating perhaps the fixed body of knowledge which had to be handed down unaltered.

kete: Literally, a basket plaited from strips of flax, kiekie, etc. It is used often to indicate a class of knowledge (see *kete aronui*, *kete tuauri*, etc.). Williams notes that it also applied to "a form of incantation in which a kete [known as a *kete pure*] was used", and that the same use of the term is encountered in Uvea. Williams (1985), p.115; cf. Andersen (1928) p.346.

kete aronui: Andersen states that this kete comprised knowledge of the higher forms of religious teaching, ceremonial connected with the enlightenment of man, and with the preservation of his physical, spiritual, and mental welfare. Best characterises it as all knowledge pertaining to good. According to McLean, it comprises knowledge pertaining to war, agriculture, woodwork, stonework, and earthwork. (The first of the three "kete o te mātauranga".) Andersen (1928), p.346-7; Best (1986), p.11; McLean (1981) p.14.

According to Andersen, in some areas "this was taught [in the whare wānanga] from sunrise until midday; nothing of this was taught after midday, as the declining sun was connected with decay and death", while in other areas all higher-level teaching was done at night.

kete tuatea: This "basket" is the repository of evil knowledge, according to Best; according to McLean the term covers prayers, ritual, and incantations generally. The third "kete o te mātauranga". Best (1986), p.11; McLean (1981), p.14.

According to Andersen (1928, p.346) knowledge of this class consisted of all kinds of black magic, and teaching was conducted from sunset. (Cf. *tuatea*, "pale; causing distress".)

kete tuauri: Represents all knowledge pertaining to ritual, karakia, and formulae, except those connected with evil, according to Best. According to McLean it represents knowledge pertaining to peace, goodness, and love. (The second of the three "kete o te mātauranga".) Best (1986), p.11; McLean (1981), p.14.

According to Andersen (1928, p.346) the material in te kete tuauri related to tribal history of all kinds, and was taught from midday until sunset in some districts, and at night in others. (Cf. *tuauri*, "ancient".)

kete uruuru-matua: The "basket" of peace, of all goodness, of love. Smith (1913), pp.28, 130.

kete uruuru-rangi/kete uruuru-tipua: "Basket" of all karakia pertaining to people. Smith (1913), pp.28,130.

kete uruuru-tau/kete uruuru-tipua: The "basket" of wars of mankind, agriculture, work related to trees and wood, stonework, earthwork - of all things that tend to wellbeing, life, of whatsoever kind. Smith (1913), pp.28,130.

kura: Knowledge of karakia and other valuable lore (synonym for *wānanga*). The term *kura* applies also to red ochre and the colour red, a symbol of nobility. Williams (1985), p.157.

kura huna: Knowledge of a specially important nature. The whare kura was a building devoted to instruction in this knowledge. Williams (1985), p.157.

mātauranga: Knowledge. Tikao (in Beattie 1990, p.67).

Williams (1985) gives as meanings of mātau "know, be acquainted with; understand; feel certain of". The modern use of mātauranga (as a term for "education") seems to be a recent extension of these meanings.

moremore pūwhā: A type of karakia used in the initiation of students into the schools of weaving and carving, and used over warriors before going into battle, to clear the mind and make it alert and receptive to new knowledge. Best (1898), pp.628-9,632.

ngau-paepae/whakangau-paepae: The final ordeal undergone to prove proficiency. Smith (1899), p.261; Best (1941a), p.79). Also the ritual to release the excess of tapu.

para whakawai: The school of arms. Best (1941b), p.227.

pia: The first order of learners being initiated in esoteric lore. Best (1986), p.15; McLean (1981), p.17; Williams (1985), p.279.

pou: A type of karakia used in the initiation of students into the school of weaving, the school of carving, and over warriors to fix knowledge so what has been learned and observed is retained and recalled instantly when needed. Best (1898), p.628-9,632.

pouhihiri: A karakia to confirm and establish knowledge taught in the whare maire. Williams (1985), p.298.

pū: A receptacle or repository, a figurative name for a person possessed of occult lore and tribal knowledge (Best); skilled person, wise one (Williams). Best (1941a), p.71; Williams (1985), p.300.

pūkenga: A repository of knowledge. Williams (1985), p.307. Recently adopted as a term for a university lecturer.

pū kōrero/pū kōrero: Best says this term (which Williams defines as "orator; well-informed, speaking with authority") is used to describe a repository of tribal lore. Best (1986), p.15; Williams (1985), p.308.

pūtahi ki a Rehua: "The sacred session of Rehua", one of the most important assemblies of high priests in the house of learning. Ngata & Jones (1961), waiata 172, line 27.

Rehua, a brother of Tāne, is associated with the kete o te wānanga; the pūtahi ki a Rehua is probably commected with the whare tātai (q.v.).

pūtea rauroha: A past master, a repository of tribal lore (Best); a person who possessed much knowledge of occult lore. Best (1986), p.15; McLean (1981), p.17.

pū wānanga: A term Best uses as a synonym for pū kōrero, an expert in tribal history and tradition. Best (1986), p.15.

rākau: This term appears to refer to curriculum. Ropiha states that "e toru nga rakau mo uta, e rua mo te moana". The shore-based rākau are (1) weapons and arms training, (2) gardening, and (3) the construction of buildings, fences etc. (and possibly their decoration). The two ocean-related rākau are not explicitly defined, although Ropiha devotes one paragraph to the fashioning of a canoe, and another to the catching of sea fish, so activities relating to (1) building of vessels and (2) catching of marine fish are probably the subject-matter of those rākau. Ropiha (1975).

ruānuku: Learned men (Smith); wise man, wizard, warlock, also called tohunga ruānuku. Smith (1913); Williams (1985), p.350.

Rua-te-pupuke/Rua-te-mahara/Rua-te-hotahota: According to Ngata, "this family is mentioned in the occult teachings of the Maori; . . . they were demi-gods of knowledge, of thought, of deepest thoughts. They are also associated with handicrafts, carvings and weaving of cloaks". Best notes that "the first whare wānanga . . . is said to have been constructed by Rua-te-pupuke, who is the personified form of knowledge". Ngata & Jones (1970), waiata 209, line 8; Ngata & Jones (1961), waiata 141, lines 5-6; Best (1941a), p.66.

ruruku-o-te-rangi: Kete linked with the uruuru-tawhito branch of knowledge. Secured with the thread "whiwhi-o-te-rangi". Smith (1913), p.62.

takuahi: A lay assistant to a teacher. Their duties were of relative insignificance, but gave them some access to sacred information and status. Best (1986), p.28; McLean (1981), p.22; Williams (1985), p.374.

tama: Williams notes that tama is used "in a mystic sense in karakia, where it is used with tauira, atua, tohunga, kete, etc." A typical example is in this portion of a karakia recorded in *Nga Mahi a Nga Tūpuna*:

Te pō nui,
Te pō roa,
Te pō matire rau, a enei nga tohunga;
Koi te matire rau,
Koi te matire rau ā ēnei ngā atua,
Koi te matire rau ā ēnei tama,
Koi te matire rau ā ēnei tauira. (Grey (1971), p.74)

It is possible that "tama" could represent a level of proficiency beyond that of "tauira". Grey (1971), pp.73-6,85-5; Williams (1985), p.375. See also the terms tamariki, tamaroa, and tama ariki.

tama ariki: In Ropiha's terminology, an advanced or "graduate" student (parallel to *tauira*). Ropiha (1975).

tamariki: Used by Ropiha to indicate the beginning student; seems to be parallel to "pia". Ropiha (1975).

tamaroa: Ropiha uses this to indicate a student who has progressed to the second stage of a course (parallel to "tāura"). Ropiha (1975).

tapuwae: One of seven proficiency tests for whare wānanga students; this involved great fleetness and was rarely attained. McLean (1981), p.23.

tā-te-kawa: Ceremony performed to dedicate a Whare Kura (Ngai Tahu) White (1887), p.8.

tauira: An advanced student of higher learning. Best states that a tauira was one who acquired the wānanga. Williams defines the term as meaning "teacher, skilled person; pupil, especially one under instruction by a tohunga". Best (1986), p.15; McLean (1981), p.17; Williams (1985), p.398.

tauira horomata: Williams says this relates to a student "at one stage of tuition" by a tohunga; no further details or references are given. Williams (1985), p.398. *Horomata* means "pure, undefiled" Williams (1985), p.61; the term seems to be associated with maintenance of tapu.

tauira pū kōrero: A student "more qualified" than an ordinary tauira. McLean (1981), p.17.

tauiratanga/whakatauiratanga: The first fight a young warrior engages in. Best (1925), p.1101.

tauiratia: Having come through the first ordeal in the training of a warrior. Best (1925), p.1101.

taumata ahurewa/taumatua atua: Alternative names for the chief priest. Te Ua (1932), p.44.

tāura The second order of learners being initiated in esoteric lore (more advanced than pia, but less advanced than tauira). Best (1986), p.15; Williams (1985), p.479.

tohunga: A skilled person, expert. Best states that "all learned persons were necessarily tohunga". Best (1986), p.15; Williams (1985), p.479.

Hammond notes, in relation to the role of the ariki as educational as well as political and military leader of the iwi, that "the position of tohunga was one to which any man or woman might aspire. A tohunga means nothing more or less than a skilled person . . . An ariki usually became a tohunga but a tohunga could never become an ariki". Hammond (1908), p.165.

tohunga ahurewa: Priestly experts and teachers of the superior School of Learning. Best (1986), p.21.

tohunga ruānuku: An expert in the art of mākutu. Best (1986) p.13. Best says that these "warlocks" represented "an order inferior to the high-class priestly expert".

uenuku: An honorific term for priestly high chiefs of the house of learning. Ngata & Jones (1961), waiata 172, line 25.

wāhanga: Demonstration of acquired knowledge (synonym for whakangawhātanga) Best (1925),p.1101.

wāhanga: Generic name of proficiency tests for students in the Whare Wānanga. McLean (1981), p.23.

wāhi rangi: Kete linked with the uruuru-tipua branch of knowledge. Secured with the thread "pipiwai". Smith (1913), p.62.

wānanga: Defined by Williams as "Lore of the tohunga, occult arts". It is clear from the use of the term in the institutional context (whare wānanga, q.v.) that the term covered higher learning and advanced theoretical knowledge generally. Williams (1985), p.479; cf. Best (1986), Smith (1913). See also "wānanga" as a term for a level of expertise.

wānanga: Instructor, wise person. Williams (1985), p.479. The Maori Studies Department at Victoria University has used this term as an equivalent for "tutor" in the university system.

whakaako: To teach (literally, cause to learn). Williams (1985), p.7.

whakahorohoro rākau: Trials of skill where students were pitted against each other in sham duels. Best (1903).

whakangahātanga/whakangawhātanga: McLean equates whakangawhātanga with wāhanga (a generic name for proficiency tests for students in the whare wānanga). According to Best, whakangahātanga was the Tuhoe term for the disclosing or exhibition of learnt powers. McLean (1981), p.23; Best (1925), p.1101.

Cf. ngawhā "burst open, bloom", whakangawhā "make a new house noa by means of the pure ceremony" (Williams (1985), p.232).

whakangawhā: Demonstrate acquired knowledge. Best (1925), p.1101.

whakatū rākau: Performance of various guards, thrusts, etc., performed by experienced warriors before the young men "that the latter might acquire these arts". Best (1903).

whakawai/whakawaiwai: Practise the use of weapons, etc. Williams (1985), p.474; Grey (1853).

whānui: Kete linked with the uruuru-matua branch of knowledge. Secured with the thread "Tuhi-o-rongotau". Smith (1913), p.62.

whare: Literally "house, hut, shed, habitation", i.e., a generic term for a habitable building. However in compound terms and phrases the term often indicates a course of learning or lectures as much as or more than the physical location in which the activity took place. Cf. Williams (1985), p.489; Best (1898), Best (1986).

whare kaupo/whare kau pō: Among the Takitimu peoples, this was a second grade "house" or series of lectures, treating of general and tribal traditions, the wars of old, and other "second class" (i.e., historical or directly experienced rather than speculative and highly theoretical) matters. Best (1986), p.13.

whare kura/wharekura: In the Ngai Tahu tradition, according to Tikao, the whare kura was to "preserve the knowledge of creation, of the gods, of the origin of things, and of religion". This is confirmed in an early account recorded by White (1887); however, White's informant also uses the term with a qualifying phrase, e.g., *whare kura ako ki te ngaki kai* (p.10, Maori text) in relation to courses of technical education. Best notes that in Taranaki, it was "the house in which tribal lore was taught . . . less exclusive than the whare wananga". Hammond says that matters pertaining to agriculture and fishing were also taught in the Taranaki whare kura, with the more esoteric learning confined to the whare wānanga. Williams defines *wharekura* as "the building in which the tohunga imparted esoteric lore to his pupils", and *whare kura* [sic] as "a building devoted to instruction in . . . knowledge" of "karakia and other valuable lore". Tikao (in Beattie 1990, p.67); Best (1986), pp.9,13; Hammond (1908); McLean (1981), p.25; White (1887) pp.8-16,4-15; Williams (1985), pp.157,490.

whare maire/wharemaire: Williams defines *maire* as "song", and gives an example which clearly links the term to institutions of learning: "Ka rongo ia ki te maire a Uenuku i roto i Wharekura" (cf. Grey (1971), p.90 -"Whare-kura" was the name of the house of learning designed by Tane, "the first whare-wananga in this world" (Andersen (1928), p.406, but note that Best (1941a, p.67) attributes the construction of the first whare wānanga to Ruatepukepuke, q.v.). Williams defines *whare maire* as "house set apart for instruction in sacred lore, = whare kura, whare wānanga". *Wharemaire*, however, is defined as "A building for purposes similar to those of the wharekura, though the terms may not be quite synonymous; generally, a house where sorcery was taught". Tikao says the function of whare-maire among the Ngai Tahu was to "disperse general instruction along certain lines". Best (and McLean) report that among the Tuhoe the whare maire were schools in which tribal history and superior myths were taught, but among the Takitimu peoples the name was reserved for the house of black magic, considered "an inferior school". Andersen (1928); Best (1941a); Best (1986), pp.9,13; McLean (1981), pp.25-6; Tikao (in Beattie 1990, p.69); Williams (1985), pp.167-8,490.

whare mata: Among Ngai Tahu, a building where the tohuka (tohunga) taught the cutting of greenstone (Tikao); Best (1898) says it was a teaching place for lore related to bird-snaring, but elsewhere (1977) describes it as "a house built and used for the purposes of manufacturing therein all paraphernalia connected with the arts of the fowler and fisherman and for the storage of the same" among the Mataatua tribes; the Horouta people also had this institution (which was one for experiential learning and the safeguarding of tapu, rather than of formal instruction), which they called whare takaha. Best (1898), p.626; Best (1977), pp.146-7; Tikao (in Beattie 1990, p.69).

The Ngai Tahu and northern uses of this term are clearly parallel -- the institution is a combination of trade school, factory, and warehouse.

whare pora: The school of weaving: "This was the house specially set aside for teaching the art of weaving in its various branches" (Best (1898), p.627). Best (1898); McLean (1981), pp.25-6.

whare pōrukuruku: Best notes that the whare maire "is sometimes alluded to as a whare porukuruku, a name which others use to denote a solitary teaching, as when a man teaches his son or grandson the tribal lore". Best (1986), p.9. Cf. *pōrukuruku* "lumpy, full of lumps; threatening, lowering (of the sky); rude cover of bark or thatch such as that sometimes put over a corpse deposited among the branches of a tree".

whare pupuke: Under the entry for *pupuke* "repeat incantations", Williams gives whare pupuke as a synonym for whare wānanga (but without further reference to a source). Williams (1985), p.307.

whare pū-rākau: A school to teach the arts of war and the use of weapons. Tikao (in Beattie 1990, p.67).

whare takaha: Best says this is the Horouta term for what the Mataatua people called the whare mata, i.e., a place set aside for instruction in and manufacture and secure storage of equipment connected with hunting, fowling, and fishing. Best (1977), pp.146-7. See the entry for whare mata for further details.

whare takiura: Best gives this as an alternative name for whare maire among the Tuhoe, "a sacred house set apart for the teaching of ancient history, genealogies, religion, etc.", i.e., the equivalent of the whare wānanga or whare kura elsewhere. (Williams defines the term takiura as "sacred food" cooked on certain important occasions, or "a charm to bring the spirit of an absent person", and whare takiura as "a building set apart for instruction in esoteric lore". Best (1898), p.626; Best (1986), p.9; Williams (1985), p.373.

whare takutaku: According to McLean, a synonym for the whare pora or school of weaving. McLean (1981), p.25.

Whare Tātai: The astronomical school. White records this as the most exclusive section of the whare kura among the Ngai Tahu, open only to "priests and chiefs of the highest rank". McLean (1981), p.27; White (1887), pp.15-16. Cf. *tātai aro rangi* "study the heavens for guidance in navigation etc.", *tātai whetū* "cluster of stars, constellation" (Williams (1985), pp.393-4).

whare wānanga: Often used as a generic term for an institution or course of higher learning. The precise meaning varies from iwi to iwi (Percy Smith, for example, states explicitly that each tribe had their own system of whare wānanga). Williams defines the term as "house for instruction in occult lore". Best (1986) and Hammond (1908) note that in Taranaki the term was used for the house in which the more esoteric aspects of higher learning were taught, as against the more contemporary matters handled in the whare kura. Elsewhere (1941), referring to the Takitimu people, he states that "the expression 'whare wananga' denoted all high-class knowledge, esoteric lore, the higher forms of religious teaching. . . . All ceremonial connected with the enlightenment

of the human mind, with the preservation of the physical, intellectual and spiritual welfare of man, was here taught". Ropiha uses the term in this general way, including formal instruction in agriculture, carving, boatbuilding, and fishing within the domain of the whare wānanga. Best (1941a), p.69; Best (1986), p.11; Hammond (1908); Smith (1913), pp.84-5; Ropiha (1975); Williams (1985), p.479. (*See also* whare kura.)

whātōtō: Wrestling engaged in between students (as part of assessment procedure for the art of war). Best (1903).

whatu: The chief expert of an institution. Best (1986), p.21.

whatu kai manawa: In the Whanganui area, a stone given to a graduating student which "you should ever carry with you, especially when joining an assembly of strangers" [presumably because of its protective qualities] (Topia Turoa, 1876). Best (1941a), p.71.

whatu kairangi: A kind of certificate of proficiency; this was a stone given to each scholar who had acquired with credit the superior lore of the kete aronui. Best (1986), p.18.

whatu puororangi: In the Whanganui area, a stone given to a graduating student; "this will enable you to retain acquired knowledge; also it will prevent you disseminating such matter in an unwise manner" (Topia Turoa, 1876). Best (1941a), p.71.

whatu tamaua take: An alternative name for the stone indicating successful completion of the course of superior learning; each stone so given had a personal name. Best (1986), p.24.

whatu whakatara: A stone given to a graduating student in the Whanganui area: "always place this beneath your pillow at night; it may beneficially affect your Mauri" (Topia Turoa, 1876). Best (1941a), p.71.

APPENDIX 2

Extracts fron NZQA Guidelines for the Approval and Accreditation of Degrees and Related Qualifications (1993)

Statutory definition of a degree:

Under s.254 (3) of the Education Act 1989, a degree must be "a course of advanced learning" that:

(a) Is taught mainly by people engaged in research; and

(b) Emphasises general principles and basic knowledge as the basis for self-directed work and learning.

NZQA Guidelines for the Approval and Accreditation of Degrees and Related Qualifications (1993)

(5) Rules and procedures for the approval of taught degree and postgraduate courses.

The following requirements must be met

...

3. The course is accepted as worthy of approval by the relevant wider communities (academic, professional, industry, Maori); and, where appropriate, its content is accepted by Maori cognisant of their tribal tikanga reo traditions and as [sic] a reflection of their aspirations for quality learning and standards in accordance with te Reo me ona Tikanga. [1]

...

(6) Rules and Procedures for the Accreditation of Providers of Taught Degree and Postgraduate Courses.

The Qualifications Authority must be satisfied . . . that the provider has the capacity to meet the requirements, specified below:

...

2. a. The academic staff have sufficient access to members and practitioners of cognate disciplines to permit peer review and support including, if appropriate, sufficient access to the Maori language. [2]

...

3. The teaching staff involved in the course:

a. are adequate in number and appropriately qualified for the outcomes of the course to be met (experience in Maori language and culture, and appropriate knowledge, skills and tikanga will be a requirement for providing some courses). [2]

...

7. c. External moderation and peer review include, where appropriate, industry, professional and Maori representatives. [2]

(7) Rules and procedures for the approval of bachelors and masters research degrees and postgraduate research diplomas.

... The following requirements must be met:

...

4. No aspect of course delivery creates unreasonable barriers to access.

5. The course has the potential to achieve and maintain comparative equivalence with other New Zealand and international courses at this level in this subject or field.

Notes

[1] This same provision is contained in "(7) Rules and procedures for the approval of Bachelors and masters research degrees and postgraduate research diplomas".

[2] The same provision is included in "(8) Rules and procedures for the accreditation of providers of bachelors and masters research degrees ..."

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